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A Reëxamination of the Evidence concerning
THE BAY PSALM BOOK
and the
ELIOT INDIAN BIBLE
as well as other contemporary
books and people

By
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Essay Index Reprint Series



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THIS WORK IS DEDICATED

*with deep gratitude and many
pleasant memories to*

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN

of the Harvard Class of 1851
City Physician and Mayor of Boston
longtime Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society

and to

GEORGE EMERY LITTLEFIELD

of the Harvard Class of 1866
lifelong Bookseller on Cornhill in Boston
Member of the Club of Odd Volumes and the
Colonial Society of Massachusetts

*each of whom convinced me fifty years ago that
the opinions of the other concerning early printing at
Cambridge were all wrong*

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As this is an account of the books and other things
printed at Cambridge in New England in the seventeenth century,
the titles that came from its Press are in CAPITALS AND SMALL CAPITALS
in order that they may be readily distinguished
from the work of other places or periods.

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS

THE ADVENTURERS

IN THE midsummer of the year 1638 the good ship *John of London* made its way down the River Thames on the ebbing tide. Before nor since has any party of westbound Atlantic voyagers set sail under more auspicious circumstances. Nor has any vessel carried the promise of more pregnant possibilities, for in its cargo was everything requisite for installing the first printing establishment set up in English America.

The evidence which justifies these opening statements is typical of much that underlies other statements that will appear on the ensuing pages. The name of the ship is given in a document which will be quoted when other statements in it come to be discussed. It must have been an ebb tide because no competent shipmaster would have cast off from Gravesend for such a voyage except when he was certain of favoring wind and current. It was a voyage that ordinarily took six weeks at least and often ten or more; this one ended after September 7, when its arrival was expected, and in time for the news it carried on the return trip to be acted on by December 22.

The beginning of overseas English printing is described in a chronological account of events in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, set down from time to time by John Winthrop who served it as Governor much of the time from his arrival in 1630 until his death in 1649. He was the last man and perhaps the only one who knew all the circumstances connected with this undertaking. The first entry under the year 1639 in his *Journal* or *History of New England* reads:

1639. 1st month. A printing house was begun at Cambridge by one Deye, at the charge of Mr Glover, who died on seas hitherward. The first thing which was printed was the freeman's oath; the next was an almanack made for New England by Mr William Peirce Mariner; the next was the Psalms newly turned into metre.

The Reverend Josse Glover came of a family of prosperous London shipping merchants whose fleet traded to the West Indies or elsewhere

when occasion called. Closely allied with other City magnates who formed its inner circle of the early seventeenth century, Mr. Glover and his brothers subscribed liberally to the stock of the speculatively patriotic colonizing companies which gave England a foothold on the western shores of the Atlantic. When the Massachusetts Bay Company was organized in 1628, they put £50 each into its capital stock. This was primarily a business opening, but these Puritan merchants must have had clearly in mind from the first the possibility that important political consequences might follow if the settlement which was projected became permanent. They must have been cognizant of and agreeable to the conversion of a trading company under their direct control into the resident overseas government of a colony.

There can have been no question of the deeply rooted Puritanism of the Reverend Josse Glover, but he was not one of the thousands of English folk who broke up their homes and set their faces westward in the first years following 1630. He seems to have been temperamentally, and perhaps from domestic circumstances, disinclined to acting promptly when it involved the severing of home ties. He had prepared to take orders in the Church and married Sarah Owfield, sometimes Oldfield, making their home at Sutton in Surrey where, in May 1624, he was presented to the living, doubtless in fulfillment of arrangements of which the marriage was a part. Another part was presumably the marriage settlements which were certainly adequate and satisfactory to all concerned, inasmuch as no further provision appears to have been made for either of them in the wills of their respective parents. Some idea of their estates can be inferred from the provisions made for their brothers and sisters. When Roger Glover died in 1634, after providing for his widow he bequeathed to his other children varying amounts from £500 to £1,000. Mrs. Glover's father, Roger Owfield of the Fishmongers Company, had died in 1608 leaving an estate of some £15,000. When his widow died in 1628 the reversion of the property went to their son and two daughters. That the Sutton rectory to which one of these daughters went as a bride was furnished luxuriously may be inferred from the testimony presented twenty-seven years later in a lawsuit on the other side of the Atlantic.

Mr. Glover, within a year or two after the death of his wife who had borne him a son and two daughters, married Elizabeth Harris, a daughter of the rector of Blechingly in Surrey. Her family possessed comfortable means but nothing comparable to her husband's or to that of

his first wife. She added a son and a daughter to the family before the removal to America was decided upon.

The decision to migrate was forecast toward the end of the year 1634/5, when Mr. Glover failed to obey the royal order that required the reading from the pulpit of "The Book of Sports" of 1618. This had been revived in 1633 by Bishop Laud, who was enforcing it as a means of purging the nonconformist element from the clergy of the Established Church. Three hundred years later this effort of the second Stuart monarch to liberalize Sabbath observance is still being opposed by some who would like to block its demand that on Sundays after divine service "No lawful recreation should be barred, which should not tend to the breach of the laws." Mr. Glover apparently ceased to officiate after taking his stand on this requirement, but he did not cut himself off from the possibility of reconsidering his decision, by formally resigning his cure, until June of 1636.

For more than a year Mr. Glover was suspended from the Sutton pulpit without formally separating from the Establishment. During this interval it is thought that he may have gone to New England to see for himself how the colony was doing and to make preliminary arrangements for transferring his family if the prospects seemed to him satisfactory. There is no definite evidence to support such a suggestion and under all the circumstances there is no reason why such evidence need ever have existed. If he made such a visit all the communications regarding it would normally have been by word of mouth. He would certainly have made the voyage on one of the vessels belonging to the family fleet, on which it would have been easy to conceal his identity from the officials of the government, which was worried by the number of persons of means and standing in their communities who had removed to New England. Aside from the obvious desirability of making a preliminary inspection before taking so important a step, there are a few incidental facts that add to the probability that Mr. Glover did this. There are also some things which are much easier to explain if it is assumed that he spent several months in Boston in 1635-36.

Of these bits of circumstantial evidence the most important is the fact that when Mr. Glover's estate came to be settled subsequent to 1638, a part of his property was in New England. Much of this had to be sold during the next few years to provide money to support his children, on whose behalf the English properties would have had to be conserved

in order to accumulate funds with which to pay bequests when they became due. In Boston he owned a house in the center of the town and nearly fifty acres of marsh, in Sudbury a farm which his younger son used as a shooting preserve, and a mill in Lynn. When his family arrived without him in the autumn of 1638, they went to the mansion house that had been built at Cambridge by John Haynes, who abandoned it in 1635 in order to remove to Connecticut. Mrs. Glover made the purchase but the whole proceeding, and especially the fact that she took up her residence at Cambridge instead of Boston where she would have been nearer more people of her walk in life, becomes more easily understandable if it is assumed that Mr. Glover had arranged to buy the house so that he might live near the embryo college.

Josse Glover did not live to reach Boston in 1638; his fortune shrank under the operation of laws of inheritance and of stepfatherly control; a spectacular real estate boom was punctured by a political cataclysm three thousand miles away; and an ill-considered plan for establishing a printing business acquired unprecedented fame from the scantiest of achievements.

☞ The reasons for thinking that Mr. Glover was in New England before 1638 are in George E. Littlefield's *The Early Massachusetts Press*, Boston, The Club of Odd Volumes, 1907.

☞ The approximately correct date for the arrival of the press at Cambridge, early in October, is given by nearly all the authoritative writers on the subject, all of whom base it on the statement in a letter written by Hugh Peter, then of Salem but later reputed attendant on King Charles the First at his last public appearance, that "we have a printery here." They date this letter "October 10, 1638." This date appeared first, so far as noted, in the *History of Cambridge* by Lucius R. Paige imprinted 1877. The letter had been printed in 1863 in a volume of *Winthrop Papers* (again in *Winthrop Papers*, IV, 1944) issued by the Massachusetts Historical Society, with the date as it is in the original manuscript "10.10ber.1638." In December, when this was written, the *John of London*, bearing the news of Josse Glover's death during its outward voyage, must have been nearing the end of the return voyage to England, inasmuch as his will was filed on December 22. Peter's letter therefore has no bearing on the question of the date of the press's arrival, but the misreading of its date by writers to whom Latin was far from dead, led them to the correct date for the first appearance of a printing outfit in what is now the United States.

THE DAY FAMILY

Whether or not Mr. Glover personally inspected the real estate in which he reinvested a part of his property, he took with him on the voyage in 1638 a man who had already been in the Massachusetts colony and who had established himself in business there before returning to England to get his family. This was a locksmith named Stephen Day or Daye who had been in business in the English Cambridge since 1618. On February 20 of that year he signed an obligation which was also signed by Matthew Day of Saffron-Walden, likewise a locksmith, and by John Carter of Cambridge, a miller who had to make his mark, that bound each of them to pay £100 in case Stephen failed to pay £50 to William Bordman on his twenty-first birthday,

and shall also honestly, according to his degree, educate, & bring up the said William Bordman dureing the time of his nonage with meat drinke, apparrell, & learning. . . . The condition of this obligation is such, that whereas the within bounden Stephen Day doth intend to marry, & take to wife Rebecca Bordman, of Cambridge . . . the relict, & Executrix of ye last will & Testament of Andrew Bordman of Cambridge . . . Baker, deceased . . .

Having safeguarded the fruit of the bride's previous marriage, her second nuptials were duly consummated and the union was blessed with two more sons who were named Stephen and Matthew. Twenty years later, on June 7, 1638, Josse Glover went to Cambridge on business with the father. The result of the conference was recorded in another obligation, which partook of the nature of a contract or agreement and a bond. This was carefully put away and preserved, perhaps because some of its provisions were not fulfilled by Mr. Glover because he died within a few months, or by Day because Mr. Glover's death altered all the conditions.

The condition of this obligation is that the above-named Josse Glover hath undertaken and promised to bear the charges of and for the transportation of Stephen Day and Rebecca his wife and of Matthew and Stephen Day their children and of William Bordman and three men servants which are to be transported with him to New England in America in the ship called the John of London [which] will cost the summe of fforty and fower pounds which is to be disbursed by the said Joss Glover. And whereas [he] hath delivered to the said Stephen Day Kettles and other iron tooles to the value of seven pounds . . . If therefore the said Stephen Day doe and shall with all speed shipp himselfe and his said wife and children and servants and the said William Bord-

man in the said shipp . . . And if the said Stephen Day his executors administrators or assigns doe truly pay or cause to be paid to the said Josse Glover the summe of fiftie and one pounds within Twenty & fower monthes next after the arrivall of the said Stephen Day the father in New England. Or within thirty days next after the decease of the said Stephen . . . And also if the said Stephen the father and his servants and every of them doe and shall from tyme to tyme labor and worke with and for the said Josse Glover and his assigns in the trade which the said Stephen the father now useth in New England aforesaid at such rates and prizes as is usually paid and allowed for the like worke in the country there. . . .

It is further provided that Day was to pay Glover for the "loane, adventure, and forbearance," otherwise interest on the advance, a sum to be fixed by two indifferent men in New England. And lastly that Glover might detain from time to time toward the payment of the "said summe and allowance all such parte and so much of the wages and earnings which shall be earned by the workes and labors aforesaid."

Nothing in this document, which is preserved in the Harvard archives, offers a satisfactory clue to the nature of the "trade" that Day "now useth in New England." It called for kettles and other iron tools and the labor of three workmen. Both Glover and Day presumably considered it reasonable to expect that the profits in two years would allow for the repayment of the £50 advanced for transportation, besides interest at the accepted colonial rate. None of these conditions seem to be consistent with Day's former occupation of locksmithing, and they are even less suggestive of the business of operating a printing establishment.

For the rest of his life, Stephen Day is encountered at intervals working for the younger John Winthrop, occupied in prospecting for iron ore in various parts of Massachusetts and northern Connecticut. John Winthrop junior owned an iron foundry which was never a profitable investment. With one exception, there is nothing in any of the records that mention Day the father that is inconsistent with the belief that the foundry was the undertaking that Day "now useth" and that he had started it during a first visit to the Massachusetts colony. Such a suggestion—for which there is not a particle of proof—would carry a further possibility that if Mr. Glover was in Boston in 1635, looking for speculative opportunities for investment, he could have learned of what Day was doing and offered to supply the capital that Day needed. Another possibility would be that the Winthrops already had their eyes on this venture and that they interested Glover in taking a share in it with

them. It is also possible that Glover and Day happened to be on the same ship when they returned to England, both of them intending to transfer their families to the colony. The document seems to imply that the undertaking was now mortgaged to Glover, who had advanced funds for needed supplies as well as the transportation, but that he looked to Day to manage it under his own name.

THE SHIP'S COMPANY

The best reason for thinking that the *John of London* was one of the fleet belonging to the Glover family and that Josse Glover reserved it for the migration of his family and dependents is that this would have been the cheapest as well as the most convenient way to carry out his plans. During the preceding ten years the ferrying of settlers and their belongings across the Atlantic to Massachusetts Bay had been the most active and most profitable business engaged in by English shipping interests. That a mercantile firm with Puritan connections had not taken part in this is improbable. The chances are that a share, large or small, in the *John of London* was held in Josse Glover's name on the firm's books. It is even more likely that this vessel was chosen for this voyage because its reputation for seaworthiness, and that of its captain and crew as well, stood high on the waterfront. More important even than the fact that Mr. Glover could afford to do things in the safest and most comfortable way, is the further fact that his three older children, now in or nearing their 'teens, had an uncle who possessed large means as well as important City connections and that he as well as the other relatives of their deceased mother could have been counted on to see that these children had everything to which their inheritance entitled them. It may likewise be assumed as more than probable that Mr. Glover's present wife would carefully protect the health of her own two small children, now around five years old.

The ship's company for the voyage included the Glover family, the parents and five children just mentioned, and the Day family of parents and the mother's three sons and the three men servants. It may safely be reckoned that there were also on board as many of the servants and staff of the Sutton rectory as could be persuaded to start life anew in the New World. The names of two of the maids, Sarah and Joan, are known because they testified to working for Mrs. Glover, seventeen years later. It is probable that there was also a nurse maid for the two little children. These children would certainly have required milk on a six weeks, or

longer, voyage, and it stands to reason that stanchions and fodder for two or more fresh milch cows would have been provided. These would have needed a farm hand as well as a dairy maid. That shipping interests were accustomed at that time to handling cattle is evident from the document which contains the first mention of the Cambridge Press, which also recommends sending over cattle as a safer speculation than real estate. The state in which Mr. Glover expected to live in the colony, if he had planned to reside in the mansion house at the new Cambridge, called for his own coach and pair, so that accommodations for the horses would have been provided alongside the cows. This means a coachman and hostler, and at least one houseman and a boy or two are most likely.

A sizable establishment would not run itself, and the Cambridge town records state that John Stedman, Mrs. Glover's steward, took up his residence in 1638 directly across the road from her house. Presumably he came over with the family party, but if so the complications resulting from Mr. Glover's death made it necessary for him to return on the *John* to London, where he purchased articles that Mrs. Glover had failed to provide before she left the previous summer. Stedman lived in that house to a ripe old age, keeping a store and holding many public offices, but he seems to have disentangled himself from Mrs. Glover's affairs. There is no mention of him as having anything to do with the printing outfit.

The necessity of transporting domestic servants as well as other laborers had already become acute in the Bay Colony. From the beginning of the migration in 1630 an important element among each year's incoming settlers consisted of men of wealth who could afford to provide themselves with the comforts to which they had been accustomed and to be waited upon as at home. Most of these brought their servants with them. But few of them were able to keep their retainers for long. Land was to be had for the taking, and rarely is an Englishman able to resist the opportunity to occupy his own homestead. The maids married farm hands who had located fertile glades beyond the settled bounds, and the people in the big houses perforce learned to do more and more things for themselves. By the second generation, domestic life in the New England settlements acquired a uniformity of simplicity that was to characterize it for two centuries. This change conceals the resemblance to conditions in England that existed during the decade of the 1630s. When Mrs. Glover began housekeeping in the mansion house at Cambridge there was as great a contrast between her ménage and that of the Day

family in the house that she purchased for them, as there had been between the Sutton rectory and the other Cambridge locksmithery. A decade later the youngest Glover heiress was adapting herself to the conditions of a college boarding house, while Mrs. Day's son William Bordman had begun to accumulate a comfortable competency.

If the Cambridge locksmith stood on the London dock before going aboard the *John of London* for the last time, he might have watched the stevedores stowing in the hold a few hundred heavy bundles carefully wrapped to protect them from soiling. If he interrupted his thoughts of establishing himself in a business of his own, to ask what these were, he may have been told that this was paper for use in printing and that Mr. Glover had bought, or that there had been bought on his account, £60 worth. Somewhat later, across the Atlantic, this paper was valued at five shillings a ream or bundle. In England it should have cost less, perhaps half as much at wholesale. Stephen Day may also have seen various boxes going aboard, some of them with the mark of an Amsterdam type foundry. He could have been told, as he deposed in a New England lawsuit many years later, that £20 had been laid out at Mr. Glover's direction for things required for printing. He may even have fallen into conversation with another man who was waiting for the ship to sail, who kept an eye on these bundles. There is no reason for thinking that at this time the locksmith or any member of his family had ever been inside of a printing shop or knew anything about what went on there. It is even more unlikely that the rector of Sutton, who is not known ever to have written anything that was printed, knew anything about the typographic craft.

When the voyage ended and the hatches were opened in the harbor of Boston in New England, the paper, press, type, and accessories were all in good order. But there seems to have been nobody on board who could claim to know what to do with them. This is curious if one considers Mr. Glover's careful attention to other matters connected with his removal to the remote colony, as well as his relationships with business interests and his obvious ability to provide everything that was likely to be needed. There is one simple answer to the doubts suggested by these observations. This is that Mr. Glover did engage the services of an experienced printer who sailed with him from London in the summer of 1638. Josse Glover died on the voyage, and there is no reason for supposing that he was the only member of the ship's company that had to be buried at sea.

When the voyage ended on the Boston waterfront, Mrs. Glover was a widow with five children to look after. The chances are that she was welcomed into the homes of friends of her youth or of her family, perhaps by Governor Winthrop or some of his circle who had beds that could be spared or made available until the furnishings from the Sutton rectory had been installed in the Governor Haynes house at Cambridge. If, as has been surmised, these household goods constituted a principal part of its cargo, it would have simplified the transfer if the vessel moved across the upper harbor and tied up on the Charlestown shore, whence there was a five-mile haul on a level road to the town of Cambridge. There the Haynes house stood beside the market place, marked to this day by an open park. The precise location of the mansion house is believed to be that of the home of a college society, a survival of Harvard's Greek Letter days, the Pi Eta Club. On this site stood in 1638 a substantial residence erected five years before by workmen sent over in advance of his own arrival by John Haynes of Copford Hall in Essex. He was the patron who stood back of Thomas Hooker and John Cotton and their followers from the English Boston when they made their escape from the authorities who endeavored to hale the clergymen before Laud and his High Commission Court.

The wealthy Mr. Haynes was welcomed enthusiastically by the colonists, who chose him as their governor at the first opportunity. A year later the fickle populace turned to a later arrival, the youthful aristocrat Young Sir Harry Vane. Thereupon Haynes and Hooker and their followers, who had barely finished building themselves homes and harvesting their first garden crops, decided that this New Town's glacial soil was not that of the Eden they had visioned for themselves any more than was the fermenting spiritual and political turmoil in the midst of which they found that they had deposited themselves. Happier surroundings were promised by reports brought back to the coast by wanderers who had penetrated inland to the banks of a mighty river bordered by plains of unimagined fertility. Thoroughly disgusted with Boston—an attitude not yet completely outgrown by their descendants—these recent arrivals abandoned their newly erected houses and trekked westward to become the founders of Hartford and the upriver Connecticut colony. Presumably Mr. Haynes and Mr. Glover, in person or by proxy, came to terms for the transfer of the title to the mansion house. The rulers of the Bay Colony helped to make a market for the abandoned lesser structures by voting to locate their embryo college in the town which was rechristened Cambridge.

The Haynes house is described as having a courtyard with outbuildings, doubtless a transition from the courtyard of an English manor house to the stables, cowbarn, and sheds for wood and storage familiar in the rural New England landscape to this day. In all probability it was in one of these sheds that the boxes of type and other printing material were deposited, with the bundles of paper stacked overhead in a loft. There, within the next few months, according to Governor Winthrop's statement, "a printing house was begun by one Day at the charge of Mr. Glover."

¶ The opinion that Mr. Glover reserved the accommodations he needed on the *John of London* in 1638 does not necessarily imply that the passenger space not taken by him was not filled for the voyage. The first volume of John Langdon Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, published in 1873, preserves a statement that Ezekiel Rogers and his parishioners from Rowley in England who settled Rowley in Massachusetts, as explained in Chapter IV, came to New England on this ship in 1638. The *John of London* was back in England in December and the Rowley people may have taken it for the next spring voyage which would have been within the Old Style year.

TWO DAYS FOR ONE

The claims of two members of the family to be the "one Day" are supported by documentary evidence. There were two other men in the family; the half brother William Bordman may have helped with the printing but it is as likely that he soon had a regular job, for he married in time to have a son born within a couple of years and continued for some time under the patronage or employment of the younger John Winthrop.

Steven Day the father * had been about to get married twenty and a half years before he brought his family to the colony, so that it is likely that his surviving younger son, Matthew, was still under age on December 10, 1641, when its General Court voted that:

Stephen Daye, being the first that set upon printing, is granted 300 acres of land where it may be convenient, without prejudice to any towne.

The first book that came from the Press had been completed something over a year before this vote was passed, and it should have been

* The father signed himself Stephen in England but reformed his spelling when he came to America and thereafter wrote Steven. The change was deliberate, for when a better penman wrote a letter in his name in 1655, the writer stopped when half through the letter *p* of the signature and converted this to *v*.

easy for the legislators to learn who was "the first that set upon printing" and what had been done to deserve this grant. Stephen described himself as a locksmith all his life long, from the day when he bound himself to take care of the inheritance of his affianced wife's son by her previous marriage on February 20, 1617/8, until March 23, 1660 when he formally acknowledged that he had not paid his stepson the aforesaid inheritance as he should have done in 1637, "the Lord by his Providence having disenabled me to perform my duty towards him in that respect." At this later date Bordman took the necessary steps to secure for himself and his heirs the house occupied by Day which stood on land that belonged to Bordman's son.

A locksmith should have possessed mechanical aptitudes that ought to have come in handy in case the parts of a printing press had to be assembled by persons unfamiliar with its operation. This is believed to have been the situation that was successfully met by "one Day" in the autumn of 1638. A quarter-century later, when he was the only surviving Day, Steven was repeatedly called in to repair the press when it broke down under the strain of the work of printing the Bible in John Eliot's Indian language. That he had little else to do with setting upon printing is probable because at the time this phrase is recorded, he ought to have been preoccupied with the trade which three and a half years before he "now useth in New England" and with the £100 penalty that was hanging over him because he had failed to repay half that amount before June 1640.

Another reason for thinking that Steven Day would not have been of much use in a printing shop is that, although he was not illiterate because he could write his name, his spelling tended toward the phonetic. In October 1648 he addressed a communication to the younger John Winthrop:

To the Rit. worshpefull Mr. John Wentrop at his house in Famoeth.

After my deutie and sarves remembred to youer worshop and mestres Wantrop, thaes ar to in tret that you will be plased to acomadat Mr. Homan withith a lott. Sur, youer man John is to mare his dauter. Sur, the man will com vere comfortabele, for he sales his lot wall here, and hath catel all rede. So geving youer worshop omble thanks for my sonn, Willuem, I rast youer worshpes sarvent to command.

Steven Day

Cambredg, this 23 of October, 1648.

Whatever the facts may have been, the reason why the Massachusetts legislators declared that Steven Day was "the first that set upon print-

ing" must remain a matter for speculation. It may have been true, for printing is impossible until a press is made to work. But this was not necessarily the reason for granting land in an undetermined location. The best guessers will be those who know about the intricacies of legislative procedure. Others can only wonder what influences may have injected that phrase into the grant of land wherever the grantee chose to locate it. This grantee was, as it happened, at that time trying to find iron ore in New England. He was being grubstaked on his prospecting expeditions by the younger John Winthrop, who was aiding his father in an effort to retain control over the colonial legislators after it became known that a trusted steward had made away with much of the Winthrop property, so that they were in no condition to meet obligations which called for cash outlay.

The elder Day was the owner of land within the corporate limits of the town of Cambridge which must have been allotted to him when its name was New Town, before his return from England with his family in 1638. He sold these lands within the next two or three years in order to pay his debts. It looks very much as if Day raised money to enable him to carry on a search for ore with which to operate a foundry which he had started before 1638, in which Glover and Winthrop had become interested. When John Winthrop junior, who became his backer after Mr. Glover's death, could not supply funds with which to pursue the search, Day sold his own lands in order to meet the obligations incurred. Winthrop may have reimbursed him in the only way he could, by asking the General Court to make a grant of land which Day could locate wherever he thought there might be ore. The reference to printing could have been inserted to cover the actual reason for the grant. That it deceived anybody at the time is not likely.

In all probability it was the younger Day, Matthew, who printed the FREEMAN'S OATH which was repeatedly mentioned by contemporaries as the first thing printed at the Cambridge Press. Matthew's name appears in the imprint on the title of the ALMANACK for 1647, which is the only place the name of a printer is found on anything that came from this Press before Matthew Day died. He was succeeded within half a year by Samuel Green, who wrote a letter in 1675 to the same John Winthrop junior setting forth his claims to consideration on account of his connection with this Press. In this letter Green described his services as

the employment I was called unto when there was none in the country to carry it along after the death of him that was brought over for that work by Mr Jose Glover . . .

The value of this letter as documentary evidence that Matthew accompanied Glover because he was a trained printer competent to set up and operate a printing establishment, is less than it would have been if Green had not continued the above quotation by saying that he "was not used unto it" when he was placed in charge of the business and that he required "help that I got from others that was procured."

Two reasons militate against a belief that "one Day" who started the first printing shop in English America was a trained typographer. The only surviving example of the work of its first years is the *BAY PSALM BOOK*. This is a creditable specimen of craftsmanship if it was produced by a beginner who was learning how to do the work by doing it without skilled direction, but it does not look like the contemporary workmanship of English printers. The technical aspects of its typography will be considered in a later section of this essay. Moreover Matthew Day in 1638 can hardly have been more than eighteen years old, and it seems improbable, even if possible, that a man of Mr. Glover's standing would have engaged a youth of that age to take charge of a plant into which he had put £80 of his own money, without reckoning his responsibility to other contributors to whom the inception of the undertaking may have been due, when the work was to be carried on three thousand miles away from any competent help or advice.

The cumulative effect of the considerations set forth herein, no one of which carries conviction by itself, is to create a belief in the possibility, tending to probability, that an experienced printer may have embarked on the voyage with the Glover and Day families. No hint that any such person existed has been found in the documents and it must be assumed that if he was on the *John of London* in the late summer of 1638 he must have been buried at sea, leaving no trace.

If there was such a supposed printer, he could have made a contribution to the success of the undertaking on which he had enlisted that there would have been no occasion for entering on any record. The two Day boys were of an age when they would certainly have made friends with a fellow voyager who was of their own party and whose reason for being with them was as interesting as is the craft of printing. Normally the voyage would have taken from six to eight or ten weeks, long enough for the passengers to recover from the initiatory sea-sickness and allow for an interval of pleasant weather before the prolonged confinement, stale water, and other causes predisposed some of the company to the indisposition, of whatever sort it may have been, that caused Mr. Glover's

death. There is nothing improbable in the suggestion that Matthew Day and his brother may have been shown how to hold a printer's stick and how to arrange the type on it, and what to do with the type in order to get an impression from it on a sheet of paper. It would have been a strange voyage if, on a pleasant day with a failing wind, Mrs. Glover had not asked the mariners to get some piece of baggage for her from the hold. While the hatches were off, the Day boys might have induced their new friend to go down and bring up a box of type in order that he might demonstrate exactly how it was to be used.

☞ The fundamental documents on Day were printed with facsimiles of several of them by Dr. Samuel Abbott Green in a chapter on "Stephen Daye, the first printer in this country" in his *Ten Fac-simile Reproductions Relating to New England*, Boston 1902. There is a rough facsimile of Steven Day's letter of 1648, from the original in the Winthrop Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society, in "Facts and Fancies and the Cambridge Press" in *The Colophon* Autumn issue for 1938. The suggestion that an experienced printer might have been engaged to operate the first press was made by a contributor to Lawrence C. Wroth's "Notes for Bibliophiles" in the *New York Herald Tribune* for January 29, 1939.

The documents are carefully examined in Robert F. Roden's *The Cambridge Press 1638-1692; A History of the First Printing Press Established in English America, together with a Bibliographical List of the Issues of the Press*. New York, Dodd Mead & Co. MCMV.

THE FORERUNNERS

Wholly apart from all the foregoing uncertainties, there was one person in Boston who awaited the arrival of the press anxiously and hopefully. This was a bookbinder named John Sanders. He had been admitted to take the oath of a freeman by the Boston Selectmen in 1636 and in the following year he was authorized to hire a shop and follow his trade. Nothing more is heard of him until Henry Dunster endorsed a letter which found its way into the Winthrop family archives: "Mr. Saltonstall by Mr. Sanders or Mr. Green received about May '51." The conjunction of three of these names leaves little room for doubt that this Sanders was the bookbinder of a dozen years earlier, still following his trade.

The Psalm Book that was printed with the date 1640 on its title would have been of little use to anyone until it was put into a binding, and copies of it still exist in simple, solid covers of roughly tanned leather

that could have been soaked in pits filled with New-England-grown oak bark. No other binder has been heard of who could have done this work. Outside of the Winthrop family circle and the political group of which it was the center, there was no place in the town of Boston where the prospect of having a printing establishment in the neighborhood would have been reported sooner or talked about more intelligently or with greater enthusiasm than in Sanders' shop. Bookbinders and printers were everywhere closely allied. Their shops frequently adjoined and often belonged to the same management. A bookbinder would have been the very best substitute for an experienced printer if the latter were not available to instruct and advise a beginner.

It was known in advance in the Bay Colony that printing supplies were on their way, for the Reverend Edmund Browne wrote to a patron in England, in a report of what he had learned about conditions there which was posted with a covering letter dated September 7, 1638:

We have a Cambridge here, a college erecting, youth lectured, a library, and I suppose there will be a presse this winter.

Mr. Browne had arrived in Boston not long before writing this report, coming on the ship with Emanuel Downing and his wife, who was Governor Winthrop's sister. They evidently found the young parson an agreeable companion, for he wrote that he

was much obliged for her matron and mother like care over mee in supplying my wants out of her treasury of provisions. I was joyned in the messe with them, had an often refreshing with fresh meate and bottle beare et cetera. . . .

The next day of our arrival I was invited to the Governor's to dinner, where wee had an old England table furnished for our entertaynment to my admire; in the afternoone I heard Mr. Cotton, viewing their comely order & faith. . . .

My office is yet to preach to some 4 or 5 greate familys, but I know not whether I shall settle heere; if it prove not a church, I suppose I shall not.

In August 1640 Mr. Browne became the first minister at Sudbury on the rapidly expanding frontier of the colony. The open-hearted friendliness of his reception may have had some connection with the fact that his hosts had learned from Browne that he had been commissioned by Sir Simonds D'Ewes and the latter's brother-in-law Sir Thomas Bowes, both of whom had contributed liberally toward the cost of founding the colony, to report on conditions as he found them. They had asked Browne to let them know especially what opportunities there might be for advantageous investment. In his letter he advises against purchasing

land unless they were coming over to look after it in person, but suggests that

It is best to venter a Summe of monys to be turned into cattle at the assignment and approbation of the governour Mr. Winthrop, a godly and wise gentleman, wth whom I had some discourse about your Worship and desireth to tender his respect unto you.

The rumor that a press was expected was evidently based on the best possible source of information. The fact of its arrival is first known to have been reported four months later in the letter from Hugh Peter to Patrick Copland in Bermuda, the date of which, December 10, is discussed in a note to a preceding section:

We have a printery here and think to goe to worke with some special things, and if you have anything, you may send it safely by these [i.e., the individual or vessel that carried the letter].

Another figure, as phantasmal as that of John Sanders but more distinctly outlined, hovers across the background of the Cambridge Press. It is that of Gregory Dexter, and it is more than likely that he had more to do than anybody else in getting that shop organized for successful operation along practical typographic lines. So far as can be made out from surviving evidence, the Press languished for five years after the *BAY PSALM BOOK* was finished. Then, after 1645 or 1646, an annual almanac was issued and other publications appeared more often. There is definite but by no means perfect evidence that it was Dexter who showed the Cambridge printer how to handle the problems incidental to making a presentable almanac, problems in which were involved all the other difficulties that were likely to be encountered.

Gregory Dexter, as will be explained in Chapter III, was active as a printer in London from 1641 to 1643. In 1644 he was in Rhode Island, where he died in 1700. His name occurs at earlier dates in the printed Rhode Island records, as receiving a home lot in 1636, and in 1640 as "arbitrator" of "Proposals for a form of Government." There is nothing to show that this man did not visit Cambridge between these earlier dates to tell the printer there anything he knew about the craft of printing.

John Sanders was mentioned by William Loring Andrews in his *Bibliopegy in the United States*, New York 1902; in the *Catalogue of Ornamental Leather Bookbindings Executed in America Prior to 1850*, New York 1907,

prepared for an exhibition at the Grolier Club; and in Lawrence C. Wroth's *The Colonial Printer*, New York, The Grolier Club, 1931; reissued by the Southworth-Anthoensen Press, Portland, Maine, 1938.

THE FREEMAN'S OATH

There is no way of telling how long it took "one Day" to set up the printing press and get the shop into working order. Its arrival had been expected in influential quarters, and no one conversant with Hugh Peter's character will believe that he waited very long before asking what was being done. The date 1639, a year which began late in March, was thought of by those who had most to do with it—Governor Winthrop and Matthew Day—as that when printing began. The Governor noted it not long afterward as the first event to be recorded under that year in his Journal, and it reappears in a chronological table inserted in the ALMANACK for 1647 which Matthew Day printed. It is none the less hard to believe that nothing was done with such interesting materials as type, ink, and blank paper for six months after they reached Cambridge. The only explanation would be a confirmation of the opinion that there was nobody available who knew how to operate the press. It is equally obvious that anybody who could not find out how to make it work in six months never would be able to master its far from complicated intricacies. Early in December 1638 Hugh Peter could think of the printery going to work with some special things, and he assured a friend who had written for publication that if he had anything ready to print he could send it to Cambridge safely.

There is a further chronological complication. The first thing printed need not have taken the veriest amateur more than a few days. The second thing was an almanac, and this in its simplest form as it sometimes appeared in an English provincial town was a complicated piece of typographical construction. Winthrop's statement does not say whether it was for the year 1639 or 1640. The work could have been done by the middle of March 1638/9, perhaps crudely and unsatisfactorily. There may be a hint that it proved unacceptable to the purchasing public in the fact that such evidence as exists supports a belief that no other almanacs were issued until outside help was secured five or six years later.

For members of a chartered London City Company, the oath required to be taken by a freeman of the Company was a form of considerable sentimental and traditional importance. Like the Lord's Prayer and some other equally significant forms that are subjected to unrelieved

repetition, these oaths tended to become neglected formalities. When the Company of the Massachusetts Bay organized under its charter of 1628/9, it adopted certain conventional practices of its august seniors, among these the freeman's oath. When the insiders of the Company transferred the Charter with themselves and much of their possessions beyond the reach of the English authorities, the oath with minor alterations became the simplest means for controlling the membership of the Company and thus perpetuating the dominating office-holding group. This group was animated by a passionate determination to serve the cause of righteousness and of the Divine Will as they saw it manifested by the Word of God. One proof of the Divine favor, as they saw it, was exemplified in the considerable amount of economic well-being that accrued to their efforts.

The oath required of those made free of the Massachusetts Bay Company, before modifications in the phraseology were introduced under pressure of threatened difficulties with the representatives of the Crown, exists in its earliest form in a draft with many alterations in the handwriting of John Winthrop. This earliest form was revoked and a new wording adopted by the General Court in 1634, and it is this which was in force in 1638/9 when it was printed for the first time, the first output of the Cambridge Press. A decade later the oath was again printed in an attack on the government of the Bay Colony entitled *New-Englands Jonas cast up in London*. It is likely that this reprint in 1647 was made from a copy of the original printed issue.

THE OATH OF A FREE-MAN

I (A.B.) being by Gods providence an Inhabitant, and Freeman, within the Jurisdiction of this Commonwealth; do freely acknowledge my self to be subject to the Government thereof: And therefore do here swear by the great and dreadful Name of the Ever-living God, that I will be true and faithfull to the same, and will accordingly yeild assistance & Support thereunto, with my person and estate, as in equity I am bound; and will also truly endeavour to maintain and preserve all the liberties and priviledges thereof, submitting my self to the wholesome Lawes & Orders made and established by the same. And further that I will not plot or practice any evill against it, or consent to any that shall so do; but will timely discover and reveal the same to lawfull Authority now here established, for the speedy preventing thereof. Moreover I doe solemnly bind myself in the sight of God, that when I shal be called to give my voyce touching any such matter of this State, in which Freeman are to deal, I will give my vote and suffrage as I shall judge in mine own con-

science may best conduce and tend to the publike weal of the body, without respect of persons, or favor of any man. So help me God in the Lord Jesus Christ.

No copy of this first fruit of New England printing is known to exist. In the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for October 1921 Charles Evans tells how he found in 1897 an entry in the *Catalogue* of the British Museum, in a volume printed in 1887, reading:

The Oath of a Freeman. B.L. [i.e. Black Letter]
(London, 1645?) s.sh. [single sheet] 120. 1626.aa.(1,2)

For a quarter-century Mr. Evans treasured this reference until he could make a long-dreamed-of visit to London, intent on being the first of his generation to examine the cornerstone of Anglo-American typography. There, the Museum officials could not find it. The figures referred to a section of the vast collection which had once contained volumes made up of separate books of poetry which had long since been broken up and reclassified beyond all possibility of tracing. Renewed search by the Museum staff has failed to produce this lost single sheet. It may be the first piece of Cambridge printed matter, the first in English America. The probability is that when it comes to light, as it undoubtedly will, it will turn out to be one more of the oaths printed for the London companies, of which the Museum and other London libraries have copies that can be dated over a period of two centuries.

☞ The Winthrop manuscript draft oath is at the Boston Public Library. It was printed in facsimile and a transcript in that Library's *Bulletin* for July 1894; reprinted in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for October 1921 with the texts of other oaths of associated interest as part of an article by Charles Evans on Oaths of Allegiance.

☞ The date that should be accepted as that of the beginning of printing in what is now the United States, with other moot points relating to the Cambridge Press, is considered by Lawrence C. Wroth in a comprehensive contribution to *Bookmen's Holiday*, a volume of tributes to Harry M. Lydenberg, issued by the New York Public Library in 1943.

CHAPTER II

THE BAY PSALM BOOK

FAME AND IMPORTANCE

THE third output from the Press was "the psalms newly turned into metre." It is the first thing printed in English America that can be called a book and the first that can still be seen. It has long ranked among the world's most famous books. This is due largely to the enormous influence that printed matter has had upon the expansion of the United States, economically and culturally, and in part to the persistent vogue of book collecting which has kept pace with the prosperity that followed the expansion. Its fame is also an inheritance of considerable antiquity, going back to the time when this was a new book. Many of the earliest settlers of Massachusetts were acutely conscious of the significance of what they had done when they separated themselves from their homeland. Their leaders were historically minded, fully aware of the importance of preserving the record of their proceedings. They understood the symbolic significance of a printing press as evidence of a cultural foundation, when this was added to the equipment of the colony, alongside of the college. These leaders and their associates who remained in England realized equally the practical advantages of press and college as encouragements to possible settlers who were hesitating to separate themselves from the refinements of life to which they had been accustomed in the Mother Country. These considerations, consciously or subconsciously, go far to explain the noteworthy fact that eleven copies of this *BAY PSALM BOOK* of 1640 are still in existence in public or private libraries. Eight of these never left New England, where five of them were collected by Thomas Prince before the middle of the eighteenth century.

The *BAY PSALM BOOK* is famous for reasons with which the work itself has nothing to do. It is also an extremely important book, for reasons that have nothing whatever to do with its fame, and which have not yet been convincingly explained. These reasons have to do with the religious development of the English people, and when they come to be clearly comprehended the spiritual foundation of the English character will be easier to understand.

The book is famous because it was a first book printed; it is important because it was frequently reprinted. The first edition of 1640 consisted of 1,700 copies. Two copies are known of an edition dated 1647 which was probably reprinted at the English Cambridge. Reasons will be given for believing that the first edition of a revised text, of which six copies are recorded, was printed in or about 1648 by Roger Daniel, Printer to the University of Cambridge. This revised text was also printed in 1651 at Cambridge in New England in an edition of 2,000 copies, of which only one survives. The catalogue of the Bishop of Peterborough's library of Americana, printed in 1713, lists a copy dated London 1652, which has not since been seen. The edition assigned to 1648 was one of three, all undated, which were printed for the Boston merchant Hezekiah Usher. Usher's London correspondent, Richard Chiswell, who regularly sent consignments to his New England customers, may have had his name placed in the imprint of some copies of the editions that are known only from the undated Usher copies, or he may have had another edition printed to supply his own trade. In 1668 a New World Cambridge printer listed a Psalm Book among his recent issues, but no copy of such an edition has been found. London editions dated 1671 and 1680 each has "Fifth Edition" on the title page; others are dated 1694 and 1697. No copy of a New England edition is known between 1651 and an "Eighth Edition" dated Boston 1695 and a "Ninth Edition," Boston 1697.

During the early years of the eighteenth century there was a rapid increase in the number of newly settled townships and a corresponding pushing outward of the occupied frontiers of New England, keeping pace with the expanding prosperity of Europe. Confirmatory evidence of the meaning of this expansion is supplied by the dates of editions of the Psalms which continued to be printed "For the Use, Edification, and Comfort, of the Saints, in public and private, especially in New England." These have been listed as coming with London imprints dated 1701, 1706, and 1709, and from Boston in 1702, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1709. The twelfth London and sixteenth Boston editions are each dated 1713. Subsequent Boston editions are known, dated 1717, 1718, 1720, 1722, 1726, 1729, 1730. There were at least six more Boston editions and seven from London before the last edition published for the regular trade in 1762, besides two from Glasgow, one of which has "Seventeenth Edition" on the title, and seven from Edinburgh, its latest being the "Twenty-Second Edition" dated 1759.

The bibliography of Richard Mather, issued for William G. Mather

of Cleveland in 1940, lists fifty-five editions of the BAY PSALM BOOK and its offspring, all but six of these from copies still existing. At least thirty more have disappeared if the statements on the title pages can be trusted. The significant thing which gives that book its amazing importance is that the English-speaking public bought up a new edition of these New England Psalms almost every other year over a period of one hundred and thirty years. Most of these copies must have been paid for by people who wanted something different from the other versions which they could have had, presumably for less money, in the vastly more numerous copies of other translations.

When one sets out to examine reasons for the fame of the BAY PSALM BOOK, a question that intrudes itself first of all is why there should have been a need for a new translation of this portion of the Scriptures. In 1638 there was no lack of editions of the Psalms in English. They could have been found in every copy of the Bible. There are eighty-eight separate editions of the Bible in English dated between 1620 and 1640 listed in the latest record as still in existence, and the same work lists six separate editions of prose versions of the Psalms issued during the same two decades; there are 130 editions of the metrical version of Sternhold and Hopkins; and fourteen of other versions, not including twenty-four for the use of Scottish worshipers. There were sixty-eight editions of the Book of Common Prayer, each of which would have been accompanied by its Psalter. There were miscellaneous metrical translations, not all of them complete, by Robert Crowley, Sir Thomas Wyatt, William Hunnis, Francis Seager, Henry Dod, George Wither, King James First, and Matthew Parker.

Against such a confusing background, it is not surprising if the leaders of a homogeneous body of worshipers who had put behind them all of their accustomed inheritances in order that they might adjust their lives to comply with the injunctions of Holy Writ, who were acutely conscious of their spiritual isolation and independence, felt a desire for their own literal rendering of the most intimate portion of the Scriptures, adapted to their special circumstances.

Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland And of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640, compiled by Alfred W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave with the help of members of the Bibliographical Society, was issued by that Society, London 1926. The figures given above for Bibles and for other versions of the Psalms are taken from that volume, which listed only editions of which a surviving copy had been located.

The figures for printings of the BAY PSALM BOOK are taken from the list

under the name of Richard Mather, the ablest of his family, in Thomas James Holmes's *The Minor Mathers*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1940.

THE TRANSLATION

The earliest account of the preparation of the text of the New England Psalm Book was written by Cotton Mather for his *Magnalia*, an ecclesiastical history of New England printed at London in 1702. It must have been composed some years earlier and it is still almost the only source of information concerning the translating which possesses any authoritative value. It was inserted after a brief sketch of President Dunster, Mather observing that this seemed to be as good a place as any other to tell about this book:

About the Year 1639 the New-English Reformers, considering that their Churches enjoy'd the other Ordinances of Heaven in their Scriptural Purity, were willing that the Ordinance of The Singing of Psalms, so should be restored among them, unto a Share in that Purity. Tho' they blessed God for the Religious Endeavours of them who translated the Psalms into the Meeter usually annex'd at the End of the Bible, yet they beheld in the Translation so many Detractions from, Additions to, and Variations of, not only the Text, but the very Sense of the Psalmist, that it was an Offence unto them. Resolving them upon a New Translation, the chief Divines in the Country, took each of them a Portion to be Translated: Among whom were Mr. Welds and Mr. Eliot of Roxbury, and Mr. Mather of Dorchester. These like the rest, were of so different a Genius for their Partes, that Mr. Shepard of Cambridge, on the Occasion addressed them to this Purpose

You Roxb'ry Poets, keep clear of the Crime,
Of missing to give us very good Rhimes.
And you of Dorchester, your Verses lengthen,
But with the Texts own Words you will them strengthen.

. . . Now tho' I heartily join with those Gentlemen, who wish that the Poetry hereof were mended; yet I must confess, That the Psalms have never yet seen a Translation, that I know of, nearer to the Hebrew Original: And I am willing to receive the Excuse which our Translators themselves do offer us, when they say; If the Verses are not always so elegant, as some desire or expect; let them consider that Gods Altar needs not our pollishings: for wee have respected rather a plaine translation, then to smooth our verses with the sweetnes of any paraphrase, and soe have attended Conscience rather then Elegance, fidelity rather then poetry, in translating the hebrew words into english language, and Davids poetry into english meetre; that soe wee may sing in Sion the Lords songs of prayse according to his owne will; until hee take

us from hence, and wipe away all our teares, & bid us enter into our masters ioye to sing eternall Halleluiahs.

The translators' own statement of the method that had been followed is in the closing paragraphs of the Preface printed in 1640:

Neither let any think, that for the meetre sake wee have taken liberty or poetically licence to depart from the true and proper sence of Davids words in the hebrew verses, noe; but it hath beene one part of our religious care and faithfull indeavour, to keepe close to the originall text.

As for other objections taken from the difficulty of *Ainsworths* tunes, and the corruptions in our common psalme books, wee hope they are answered in this new edition of psalmes which wee here present to God and his Churches. For although wee have cause to blesse God in many respects for the religious indeavours of the translators of the psalmes into meetre usually annexed to our Bibles, yet it is not unknown to the godly learned that they have rather presented a paraphrase then the words of David translated according to the rule 2 *chron.* 29.30. and that their addition to the words, detractions from the words are not seldome and rare, but very frequent and many times needles, (which we suppose would not be approved of if the psalmes were so translated into prose) and that their variations of the sense, and alterations of the sacred text too frequently, may iustly minister matter of offence to them that are able to compare the translation with the text; of which failings, some iudicious have oft complained, others have been grieved, whereupon it hath bin generally desired, that as wee doe inioye other, soe (if it were the Lords will) wee might inioye this ordinance also in its native purity: wee have therefore done our indeavour to make a plaine and familiar translation of the psalmes and words of David into english metre, and have not soe much as presumed to paraphrase to give the sense of his meaning in other words; wee have therefore attended heerin as our chief guide the originall, shunning all additions, except such as even the best translators of them in prose supply, avoiding all materiall detractions from words or sence. The word γ , which wee translate *and* as it is redundant sometime in the Hebrew, soe sometime (though not very often) it hath been left out, and yet not then, if the sence were not faire without it.

As for our translations, wee have with our english Bibles (to which next to the originall wee have had respect) used the Idioms of our owne tongue instead of Hebraismes, lest they might seeme english barbarismes.

Synonimaes wee use indifferently: as *folk* for *people*, and *Lord* for *Iehovah*, and sometime (though seldome) *God* for *Iehovah*; for which (as for some other interpretations of places cited in the new Testament) we have the scriptures authority. . . . Where a phrase is doubtfull wee have followed that which (in our owne apprehension) is most genuine and edifying:

Sometime wee have contracted, sometime dilated the same hebrew word,

both for the sence and the verse sake: which dilation wee conceive to be no paraphrasticall addition no more then the contraction of a true and full translation to be any unfaithfull detraction or diminution: as when wee dilate *who healeth* and say *he it is who healeth*; soe when wee contract, *those that stand in awe of God* and say *Gods fearers*.

Lastly. Because some hebrew words have a more full and emphaticall signification then any one english word can or doth sometime expresse, hence wee have done that sometime which faithfull translators may doe, *viz.* not only to translate the word but the emphasis of it; as * *mighty God*, for *God. humbly blesse* for *blesse. rise to stand*, for *stand, truth and faithfullness* for *truth*. Howbeit, for the verse sake wee doe not alway thus, yet wee render the word truly yet not fully; as when wee sometime say *reioyce* for *shout for ioye*.

As for all other changes of numbers, tenses, and characters of speech, they are such as either the hebrew will unforcedly beare, or our english forceably calls for, or they no way change the sence; and such are printed usually in an other character.

The foregoing explicit explanation of the way in which the new translation was composed must have been written by the person who was chiefly responsible for what had been done. It comes at the end of the Preface which follows the title of the BAY PSALM BOOK, and was presumably copied from a letter that was laid before a conference held at Richard Mather's Dorchester parsonage. This Preface was planned to be "a discourse declaring not only the lawfullness, but also the necessity of the heavenly Ordinance of singing Scripture Psalmes in the Churches of God." Mather wrote out his ideas on this subject soon after the conference and addressed them "For my reverend brother Th. Shepard," the minister at Cambridge who probably prepared the text of the Preface for the printer. Mather's manuscript ends with the informative note:

(And so goe on in shewing what other things have bene attended to in this Translation according to the Letter which was read at Dortchester.).

The printed Preface contains about 3,250 words, about two-thirds of which deal with the points covered by Mather's draft of some 3,000 words. The writer of the Preface followed the outline of this draft, adopting an occasional sentence, usually condensing it drastically, and more frequently taking over phrases or words in a summary of Mather's argument. He added an occasional paragraph on some point that the draft had not mentioned. The writer, doubtless Shepard, was able to use about a third of what Mather had sent him, making about half of

* The Hebrew type is omitted.

what was printed in this portion of the Preface. Two extracts from Mather's manuscript will show the way it was used. The words in italic occur in the printed text; the rest was omitted by the writer of the Preface.

They may please to understand, That Davids *Psalmes are penned* by David *in such verses, as are suitable to the Poetry of the Hebrew Language, and not in the common style of such other Books of the Old Testament, as are not Poeticall.* Now noe Protestant doubtieth, That it is an Ordinance of God, *That all the Bookes of Holy Scripture should be extant in the mother tongue of each Nation,* Else how should the Common people reade the scripture with understanding? If then Davids *Psalmes ought to be translated* as into other Languages. . . .

Neither let any man thinke, That wee have therefore for the meeters sake taken that liberty (or Poeticall license) to depart from the true and proper sense of Davids words in his Hebrew verses. Noe, it hath bene a speciall part of our Religious care, and faithful endeavour to keepe close to the Originall Text, both for wordes and sense, insomuch that wee have not presumed so much as to Paraphrase upon the words of David, to give the sense of his meaning in other words.

The text for these paragraphs as printed in the Preface comes near to a later-day appreciation of the problem with which the New England clergy were confronted in 1640.

The psalms are penned in such verses as are suitable to the poetry of the hebrew language, and not in the common style of such other bookes of the old Testament as are not poeticall; now no protestant doubteth but that all the bookes of the scripture should by Gods ordinance be extant in the mother tongue of each nation, that they may be understood of all, hence the psalmes are to be translated into our english tongue; and if in our english tongue wee are to sing them, then as all our english songs (according to the course of our english poetry) do run in metre, soe ought Davids psalmes to be translated into meeter, that soe wee may sing the Lords songs, as in our english tongue soe in such verses as are familiar to an english eare, which are commonly metricall: and as it can be no just offence to any good conscience, to sing Davids hebrew songs in english words, soe neither to sing his poeticall verses in english poeticall metre: men might as well stumble at singing the hebrew psalmes in our english tunes (and not in the hebrew tunes) as at singing them in english meeter, (which are our verses) and not in such verses as are generally used by David according to the poetry of the hebrew language: but the truth is, as the Lord hath hid from us the hebrew tunes, lest wee should think ourselves bound to

imitate them; soe also the course and frame (for the most part) of their hebrew poetry, that wee might not think ourselves bound to imitate that, but that every nation without scruple might follow as the grave sort of tunes of their owne country songs, soe the graver sort of verses of their owne country poetry.

☞ Mather's manuscript draft was preserved by being bound in a pamphlet volume which found its way into the collection of Thomas Prince which he left in his study in the Boston Old South Church. What remains of this collection is now in the custody of the Boston Public Library, where the original volume was broken up. The manuscript was printed in that library's monthly *More Books* for June 1929.

THE TRANSLATOR

Two of Cotton Mather's statements call for examination: that "the chief Divines took each of them a Portion to be Translated," and that Thomas Weld, John Eliot, and Richard Mather "like the rest, were of so different a Genius for their Partes." No one who is acquainted with New England intellectuals will doubt the first of these statements. Since 1640, there can scarcely have been a decade in which a similar coöperative undertaking of equal potential benefit to the cultural community has not been proposed by someone, and the possible contributors allotted their respective shares. Occasionally, as with the *Memorial History of Boston* and the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, one of these schemes has been nursed to fruition. Most of them have been stillborn, victims of human preoccupations and, like the Psalm Book, of the different genius of mortals. Of no individuals was this differing ever more true than of the three named by Cotton Mather. Nobody who has considered the careers or the temperaments of these three Puritan clergymen will suspect them of having coöperated successfully in an undertaking requiring mutual forbearance, such as would have been called for if they had attempted to agree upon the English rendering of Hebrew phrases and metre.

There need be no doubt that Cotton Mather, fifty years afterward, correctly recorded his family tradition concerning the inception of the Bay Psalms, or that this was a correct statement of what was proposed when the idea was broached. There can be even less doubt that the principal divines of the colony failed to collaborate, presumably because they were occupied with more immediate duties, and because there does not appear to have been any individual of sufficient standing or force of

character to command the united efforts of those who were competent to be helpful.

A distinguishing characteristic of the BAY PSALM BOOK is its consistent uniformity throughout, almost to the end, in metre, rhyming, and use of words. It has not been possible to find a verse anywhere that justifies a suspicion that it was not written by the person who did all the rest. There is good versifying and bad, but one searches steadily without finding a psalm in which the two are not inextricably intermingled. Not one of them has any uniform excellence or ineptness sufficient to create an opinion that it could not have been composed by the person who did the others.

An attentive rereading leads inevitably to opinions regarding the characteristics and the competence of the individual who did the translating. It is clear that he possessed confidence as well as fluency in composition, and a sufficient linguistic familiarity with the ancient tongue. His English vocabulary was not large, although it may have been restricted by a desire to avoid words that would be recognized as having been suggested by or adopted from other translations. Words that can be used as a test of an individual vocabulary are almost completely lacking. Only one such has been noted and this one is an exception to prove the preceding statement. "Washpot" in Psalm cviii is a word that did not establish itself in the common speech, but it was never ousted from its place in this verse from Coverdale's first translation to the latest revision of the Book of Common Prayer. With rare exceptions the simple, direct phrasing of the Bible texts then available is avoided in favor of crude, awkward word usages.

The translator possessed no discernible comprehension of the refinements of versification which are the underlying bases for what is known as poetry. He apparently had no feeling for the cadences and metrical balance which grew up into the King James version of 1611, and which gave to the Sternhold and Hopkins translation its unbreakable hold upon the vast majority of English worshipers. The New England translator seems to have thought of the accepted renderings only as relics or reminders of liturgical services. He may have shunned these deliberately because he believed that they would inevitably have reminded the churchgoers in the Puritan colony of the services of their childhood in the homeland.

John Eliot of Roxbury comes nearer than either of the others named by Cotton Mather to meeting these specifications. Not least of the puzzles

that confront an attempt to understand the BAY PSALM BOOK is the fact that Cotton Mather's statement, expanded by Thomas Prince, is the only source of information concerning the authorship of the translation. The men who were named as the authors never laid claim to any part of it.

There can be no serious doubt that Thomas Shepard composed a verse concerning the BAY PSALM BOOK which he sent to his intimate friend Richard Mather and which was printed by Richard's grandson sixty years later. It has been taken to name Eliot, Weld, and Mather as the tripartite authors of the translation. This may not have been its purpose for the meaning is not clear. It could have been Shepard's reaction after returning to Cambridge from a committee, meeting as an editorial board to consider the text of the proposed publication. It complains of the rhyming, which has continued for three hundred years to be a subject for criticism. It also implies that Mather wanted to lengthen some of the lines; there are no lines that require lengthening in the book as issued. The extracts quoted herein show how much stress was laid on literal faithfulness to the Scripture text.

Another possibility did not occur to anybody until Professor Jantz of Princeton turned up an ink-rotted slip of paper in a folder of unidentifiable scraps at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which he recognized as the Shepard quatrain in the handwriting of Cotton Mather's father, Increase Mather. This earlier version by a more dependable scribe reads:

you Roxborough poets take this in Time
see that you make very good Rythme
And eeke of Dorchester when you the verses lengthen
see that you them with the words of the text doe strengthen

This could be clearer, but it does not strengthen the established theory of joint authorship.

☞ Increase Mather's version of the Shepard verse is printed in an upsetting contribution by Professor Harold S. Jantz on *The First Century of New England Verse* in the *Proceedings* of the meeting of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester in October 1943.

THE TYPOGRAPHY

The BAY PSALM BOOK looks the part that the fates assigned it to play. It has every appearance of being an effort of beginners on a remote

frontier. Nothing in either text or typography suggests a product of a sophisticated community with established industries and standardized reading habits. The volume as a whole and in detail does not look like the books that were made by contemporary craftsmen in London or in the English provincial centers. Some of those books were skilfully designed and competently executed, while others were hastily turned out to supply an unforeseen demand, by trained craftsmen, but none of these show any points of similarity to the 1640 Psalm Book. It has even less resemblance to the crude publications that came from the secret presses in the Low Countries, where they were produced by English refugees to be smuggled across the Channel. These surreptitiously printed tracts were typographically of the crudest, many of them produced by amateurs with the scantiest knowledge of the craft, but their faults are fundamentally those ascribable to haste, limited equipment, and restricted resources. None of these are characteristic of the BAY PSALM BOOK.

The oftener that book is examined, either in a copy of the original edition or in the facsimile published at New York in 1903, two characteristics become increasingly distinct. The book was carefully composed by the typesetter, and the proof was overseen as carefully. Composition is crude to a noticeable degree, but the pages throughout show fewer typographical errors than are to be expected in work executed by professional compositors and pressmen of that period. Under normal conditions of employment, composition has been paid for under a practice of very ancient standing, by the amount of matter put into type. The compositor has been held responsible for making the correction of mistakes directly due to his mishandling of the individual metal letters. In practice this rule resulted in a compromise on the part of the individual workman, between a speed which would yield a living wage, and the care which saved him from an undue loss of time spent in correcting wrong letters, upside-down type, and divergencies from the copy from which he worked. In practice this led to a further compromise between the workman and those who were responsible for the ultimate result, the consequence of which was that the finished product almost always revealed a proportion of errors that had not been corrected, the number of these varying uncertainly in accordance with the nature and importance of the text in which they occur.

A further complication results from conditions which have been disregarded by bibliographers more often than not, which create misprints after the presswork starts. Printing ink is sticky, and it was difficult in

former times to fasten the lines of metal letters in the frame which held the pages when placed in the press, so securely that individual pieces of metal type could not work loose during the progress of the impression. The result was that the process of inking the pages of type with the old-fashioned inkballs not infrequently pulled a single letter out of a line. When this was noticed as it occurred, the workman who replaced it, being responsible only for his own share in the bookmaking process, did not always bother to put it back right way up. Sometimes, moreover, when the inkball pulled a letter out of a page, this flipped away to the floor and the pressman's helper, instead of hunting it up, glanced at the type on the press, guessed at the letter which had gone astray, and supplied this from the type case—occasionally producing a bibliographical variant. Amateur bibliographers have ordinarily been misled by such variants, which had been produced after the work of printing began, into describing them as stigmata of an earlier issue or even as a separate edition.

The last leaf of the *BAY PSALM BOOK* lists seven "Faults escaped in printing. . . . The rest, which have escaped through over-sight, you may amend, as you finde them obvious." The first fault is noted as in "*vers* 9 of *Psalm* 9"; the next in *v.* 10. For the others the *v* becomes *u*. The others are two in *Psalm* xviii and one each in xix, xxi, and "145" which is found in 143. The first correction is distinctly finicky, considered in the reflection of contemporary linguistic practice, the second *p* being asked for in the word printed *oprest*. The change in the next line was presumably a result of meticulous scholarship in rendering the Hebrew, or possibly metrical exactitude; *know* is substituted for *knowes* in the line:

Who knowes thy name, will trust in thee.

The third change shows equal care, *thee* replacing *the*. These three errors may have been blamable on the typesetter.

The other corrections are clearly due to the author. Two of them probably reflect flaws in the manuscript. In *Psalm* xviii the failure to mark the division where the third section begins was in all probability because this was not clearly shown in the copy. The only seriously unintelligible passage found in the printed volume, in couplet 13 at the bottom of the right-hand page D₂ in the adjoining facsimile, was most likely the result of alterations made by the translator in his manuscript. The passage is changed to read:

And from presumptuous sins kept back
O let thy servant be;

THE PSALME xix.

glad Giants-race to run.

6 From heavens utmost end,
his course and compassing,
to ends of it, & from the heart
thereof is hid nothing.

(2)

7 The Lords law perfect is,
the soule converting back
Lives Gods testimony faithfull is,
makes wise who wil some lack.

8 The statutes of the Lord
are right, & gl: in the heart:
the Lords commandment is pure,
light doth to eyes impart.

9 Iehovahs feare is cleane,
and doth indure for ever:
the iudgements of the Lord are true,
and righteous altogether.

10 Then gold, then silver,
more to be prized are,
than hony, & the price
sweeter they are by far.

11 Altho my servant is
fearfull, yet he shall not be
in want, nor shall he be
in want, nor shall he be

12 Who shall be clean
from secret faults cleane
from hidden things cleane
from secret faults cleane

13 Let the Lords name be praised
for ever, & ever, & ever,
Let the Lords name be praised
for ever, & ever, & ever.

The remaining alterations are likewise due to the translator. In Psalm xxi, vers. 8, the first two words are changed to *Thine hand* in the lines:

The Lord shall finde out all
that are thine enemies:

In Psalm cxlIII, vers. 6, *Moreover I* is substituted for the first three words in

I even I doe unto thee
reach mine out-stretched hands:
so after thee my soule doth thirst
as doe the thrifty lands. Selah.

The corrector's interest did not reach to the last of these lines. Other examples of the versification will be quoted in the Appendix.

A later corrector, seeking better acquaintance with the first fruits of New-English printing, reports finding on the 296 pages of the first edition of the BAY PSALM BOOK 53 additional probable or possible Faults Escaped. At least two of these may not unfairly be suspected of having been caused by the inking balls pulling out a letter missing in the text. A few misplaced letters may be due to the same cause, but they are charged against the compositor because there was a workman at fault first or last. These appear as: *it'h*; *I'me*; *i'ts*; *naere*; *remo'vd* (this may be intentional, to give a long syllable); *themesles*; *wholoever*; *varity*; *momen-tary*; *hiils*; *confibently*; *ridces*; *he'le* (perhaps intentional). The letters *u* and *n* are interchanged at least three or four times; and *t* and *r* as often. Other irregularities may have been intentional: *awry* where *away* would make sense but the rhyme is with *uprightly*, which signifies little in Psalm xviii; *requere* rhymes with *eare*; *purgde*, *remo'vd*, *i'heathens*, and *o're* would each avoid an undesired syllable.

The *k* may have pulled out of *wiced*, but if so the empty space corrected itself. The word *kno's* is uncertain, because the apostrophe is in a space wide enough for a missing *w*. The apostrophes may have overflowed into the box where the thin spaces belonged, for ' appears five or more times where it is not wanted, and other stops as often. The space is omitted a very few times. A wrong-font *k* was used twice, probably because the italic letter ran out. There is a wrong-font *l*. There is no excuse for *recods*, although this is undoubtedly the way it sounded in conversation. The numbers of the verses in Psalm lxxv appear to be out of place.

Anyone who desires to hold an opinion contrary to that of the author might helpfully verify the occurrence of these or other misprints, which

have been noticed in the photographic facsimile of 1903, in each of the surviving copies of the original printing. Until this is done, there will remain a possibility of learning something more about the craftsmanship of the first New England printer.

The first edition of the *BAY PSALM BOOK* consisted of 1,700 copies, according to a document whose evidential value will be discussed in a later chapter. This number becomes more probable when compared with 2,000 copies of the 1651 edition of the same book, or with 1,800 copies of the first edition of Michael Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom* printed in 1662, or 1,400 of the first *Paradise Lost* in 1666. It is a larger number than can have found purchasers in the ten-year-old colony. The decade's growth of the New England settlements had been phenomenal, and their population in 1640 has been estimated at between fifteen and twenty thousand. If these had gathered into some 3,500 families, every other family in the colony would have had to buy a copy, if it had been offered only on the local market. But the clergy in the northern half of the colony, following the lead of Salem and Newbury, as well as Plymouth, always distrustful of Boston, refused to adopt the new translation for their churches. This would have left a copy for every family in the remaining settlements. It is certain that there were many of these families which had neither the money nor the inclination to buy this book. The inference is inescapable that a part, probably the larger portion, of the copies of the first edition were shipped to London for distribution on the English market. If the names of the booksellers could be learned, through whom these copies found purchasers, much light would be thrown upon the relationships of the Puritan groups on the two sides of the Atlantic.

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CHAPTER III

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AFFAIRS

A VICTIM OF CIRCUMSTANCES

HENRY DUNSTER, with his younger brother Richard in his care, arrived in New England in the first week of August, 1640. Three weeks later, on August 27, he became the first president of Harvard College. These were also first in a sequence of closely fitting happenings which for the most part are inexplicable when considered each by itself, having nothing whatever to do with typography, which controlled the Cambridge Press for a dozen years and culminated in 1656 with a group of legal and semi-legal papers which give this Press a claim to be the best documented typographical undertaking of all time.

In a letter written in December 1653, under unhappy circumstances which might have influenced his recollections, Dunster wrote that he was

calld . . . a meer stranger in ye country) to undertake ye instructing of ye youth of riper years & literature after they came from grammer schools. . . . No further care or distraction was imposed on mee or expected from mee but to instruct.

This refers clearly to what took place on that August 27. It does not throw any light on anything that may have preceded that action, but the action taken is inexplicable unless there had been precedent negotiations or circumstances. The most probable guess is that young Mr. Dunster had been approached before he decided to embark for the New World by somebody who spoke with authority on behalf of the Bay Colony and that he was given to understand that he would be employed to teach in the denuded College as a tutor or assistant to its head. When he arrived he felt sure that a job for which he was fitted was awaiting him. This is what he claimed in 1653 was all that was expected of him in August 1640. The title that accompanied the appointment carried with it more authority than he had anticipated, because it took into consideration the fact that the College, after a year's interregnum, was still without an official head or Master. The letter of 1653 goes on to explain that the active members of the Committee who had directed its affairs

during the interval following Master Eaton's hasty departure continued to oversee the work on the new building and other non-academic matters. More important interests soon engrossed their attention, however, with the result that by October 3, 1641, Dunster found himself with all of the College business on his hands, occupying the position of complete power over the institution which has ever since descended upon his successors.

Dunster was elevated to the presidency by an extraordinary, extra-legal gathering of ten magistrates and sixteen elders or clergymen. This gathering acted instead of the official Committee to which the direction of the College had been entrusted by the legislature of the colony. It is more than likely that the members of this Committee felt that they had been discredited by the ill success of their first appointment. They may have refused to accept responsibility a second time, even if they agreed with the other leaders of the community that the only thing to do was to turn the foundered institution over to a young man of thirty-two years whom they had known for only three weeks. It is clear that the unusual character of the gathering was recognized at the time, for when, thirteen years later, the Committee took occasion to question the President's management of its finances, he addressed his angry resignation, not to the Committee, but to the officials who had made up the more responsible portion of the body that acted in August 1640.

The new President entered upon his duties in September. In his charge as instructor were eight youths who had suffered under Master Eaton, some of whom had spent the subsequent year studying under different tutors who were supposed to prepare them to go on with the subjects of their next academic year. There were also two or three others who were newly enrolled as the nucleus for the two ensuing graduating classes. These youths, according to Dunster's letter of 1653, found accommodations in various local dwellings. Nothing is recorded as to the President's place of residence during his first year. Speculation shifts from the Peyntree to the Haynes house. The former belonged to the College and if Mrs. Eaton with her children had left it to rejoin her errant husband, the bachelor President would have had to be provided with a domestic establishment, of which there is no hint. This would normally have meant bringing the students there to live, but their unhappy memories of the life together must have made this inadvisable. In the Haynes house the widow Glover was living with her late husband's five children and there would have been no impropriety in a

person of her standing offering hospitality to a person of his position.

There is a further tempting possibility that Henry Dunster and the former Elizabeth Harris, now Glover and about to become Dunster, could have known each other while he was a student at the other Cambridge and she a visitor to relatives in that university town. However it came about, on June 22, 1641, the widow Glover became, as the indexer has it, Dunster, Mrs. Henry (1).

Marriage provided the President with the comforts of home on a scale above anything to which he can have been accustomed, and a settled residence suitable to the dignity of his position, while his wife acquired a sorely needed helpmate. The husband also acquired a full share of domestic cares and responsibilities. The least of these was the inactive printing outfit. There are no signs that the children needed any of his attention at the moment, although the two older girls, the wife's step-children, may have begun already to spend some of their time away from home, staying as more than welcome guests at the Governor's house in Boston, with results that their elders on both sides regarded as satisfactory. More serious considerations are involved in speculations regarding Mr. Dunster's knowledge of the widow's affairs before he became her husband. He married a woman who had been welcomed to the colony as the relict of one of its wealthiest citizens; he found himself the consort of a lady who had been living beyond her means, dependent upon an estate that had become deeply involved. The disregarded printing shop was to become one of the sources of income in the opinion of creditors.

When Elizabeth Harris married the rector of Sutton in Surrey, she was installed as the mistress of an establishment conducted on a scale that he could well afford, in keeping with the station in life of the first Mrs. Glover and her children. Mr. Glover as the children's parent had the income from their property as well as his own and naturally maintained his establishment in the ways to which they had been accustomed, after he added a second wife to the household. When he decided to migrate to America, he made the necessary arrangements to transport the establishment as well as the family, and planned to provide the comforts which they had enjoyed at Sutton. As a part of these arrangements, he transferred some of his property, reinvesting it in the colony. The income from the property that remained in England provided a highly advantageous credit upon which the Boston merchants would gladly make advances, sharing the profitable balances that resulted from impor-

tations paid for by the London funds. There is every probability that when Mr. Glover prepared to embark for America, he had, in accordance with current practice, accumulated a considerable balance on the books of Boston merchants, in addition to the property that he had re-invested in the colony and to the holdings left in the care of those who looked after his interests in London. This was the situation when Mrs. Glover, newly widowed, reached Boston and until the news returned to London which made it necessary to present his will for probate in December 1638.

There was apparently nobody in Boston who considered that it was a part of his business to tell the widow Glover about the inevitable changes in her financial position that resulted from her husband's death. It may be that no one in the colony fully appreciated the situation. Hezekiah Usher, the principal merchant of the town, was presumably the custodian of such funds as Mr. Glover had accumulated in anticipation of the outlay incidental to taking up a new residence, and this money was available for the widow's use. Governor Winthrop, who had practised law, must have realized that changes would ensue in the Glover family affairs, but with every desire to be helpful there was no obligation on him to disturb the widow with unpleasant prognostications regarding what had not yet happened.

What actually happened was that Mrs. Glover sent to London by "her servant John Stedman," who referred to her in a letter as "my sister Glover" but the relationship is uncertain, for an assortment of needed articles which came to a reckoning of £143:5:4. These were shipped for New England on March 4, 1638/9. When the bill for the goods was presented for payment in due course, the Court of Prerogative ordered that no money was to be paid out of the Glover estate. Just who took the initiative in having this order issued is not clear, but a few facts assist in guessing. Mr. Glover's will made ample provision for legacies for his children, which would be payable at their maturity or the marriage of the daughters. The daughters by the first wife, who died in 1628, were already in their 'teens and conservative management of the estate called for the accumulation of income in anticipation of the payment of these inheritances. Presumably the first wife had provided that her husband should receive the income from her property as guardian of their children but that the principal should go to them when they became of age or married. When the father died her property would have

reverted to accumulate until her children could claim it. In brief, the widow Glover could not receive the income from the English properties which had been paid to her late husband. Of more immediate concern to her, the Boston merchants could not continue to allow her to draw on them for London credits after they learned that the goods ordered from London could not be paid for there.

It is possible that Mrs. Glover would have had enough to live on from the income from her late husband's American properties, if she could have made a home for herself and the children when they arrived bereft of his presence. Unhappily he had made arrangements in advance and she found herself provided with a mansion house and staff to maintain it suitably. There was also cash and credit sufficient to carry the establishment until the family had become settled in the community on the anticipated social scale. It may be that there was a natural reluctance to take drastic steps to curtail household expenses which may have seemed to be justified by the expectation that money would continue to come from the property of the elder children to pay for proper maintenance of the establishment. The upshot was inevitable. Mrs. Glover kept up the ménage on the scale on which it started as long as she could with what money she could get, and thereafter as far as she could with what the servants and tradesfolk would let her have. This was the situation when Mr. Dunster, newly arrived from the academic world in which she grew up, came to live in Cambridge in New England. Speculation hovers between two possibilities, that he became a frequenter of the Glover home without realizing that it was a shell of former grandeur, or that its mistress made him a confidant and found in him a sympathetic listener to her woes, until he became inextricably enmeshed in her troubles.

The printery was the least of the concerns that matrimony added to Henry Dunster's cares. When he took his place at the head of the table in the Haynes-Glover house, he assumed paternal responsibility for the five children of his wife's previous husband, of whom her three step-children were already in their 'teens. The household staff brought from Surrey three years before had already shrunk under the economic and matrimonial temptations of frontier conditions as well as the warnings of the depleted family income. The academically minded college President had been getting acquainted with household cares in so far as these were involved in the planning of the College edifice which was slowly

taking shape, although he had so far been spared the more serious responsibilities which came after the students were gathered to sleep and eat as well as study under his supervision.

The building had been started after John Harvard's legacy was due, under the oversight of Hugh Peter of Salem, a score of miles away, and Major Samuel Shepard of Cambridge. Both found their attention distracted by the news that came with every incoming vessel from England, so that the workmen had been left to carry out their own ideas in the way they thought best. Dunster gave a vivid account of the situation when he was obliged to take charge of it, in the letter of 1653:

They [Peter and Shepard] also when they had finished ye Hall (yet without skreen table form or bench) went for England leaving ye work in ye Carpenters and masons hands without Guide or further director, no floar besides in & above ye hall layd, no inside seperating wall made nor any one study erected throughout ye house.

Thus fell ye work upon me, 3d 8ber 1641: wch by ye Lords assistance was so far furthered yt ye students dispersed in ye town & miserably distracted in their times of concourse came into commons into one house 7ber 1642. & with ym a 3d burthen upon my shoulders, to bee their steward, & to Direct their brewer, baker, buttler, Cook, how to proportion their commons. A work then acceptable to all sides easing aswel their parents a third part of their charges as the students of endless distractions.

¶ There is a facsimile of Dunster's letter of 1653 in the *Transactions* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts for March 1897.

¶ Mr. Glover's will included a bequest: "to my servant John Stedman, my ancient faithful servant, the sum of fifty pounds."

¶ Persons and events mentioned on these pages also appear in Professor Samuel Eliot Morison's *The Founding of Harvard College*, 1935, and *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, 1936, prepared in official anticipation of the celebration of the college's three-hundredth anniversary, as well as in his *Builders of the Bay Colony* and *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 1936.

DEPRESSION AND COMMENCEMENT

Young Mr. Dunster arrived in the colony near the beginning of a complete reversal of its economic circumstances. For ten years following the Great Immigration of 1630 new settlers poured into the Bay towns at the rate of more than a thousand a year. Most of them were serious middle-class English folk with something of their own which they were able to convert into land and stock on a rising market which

made them forthwith better off than they had been at home. Many of these, together with others whose means were insufficient to finance the cost of transporting their families unaided, came as followers of some man of ampler wealth and adequate credit with the Puritan merchants who owned the ships and stood behind the movement. For a decade the colonists prospered extravagantly. Land values soared; the cattle and labor markets boomed; craftsmen—locksmiths, a bookbinder—found more work than they could attend to amid the distractions of opportunities for investment. Nobody had time or incentive to consider that anything unforeseen might happen, any more than had the courtiers who encouraged King Charles in his confidence in the wisdom and judgment of Laud and Strafford.

The change came without warnings that could be perceived by those who stood to lose their wallets or their heads. Bostonians flocked to the long wharf at the news that a ship was coming up the channel, to find that it brought few passengers, while its hold was packed with goods that had been ordered in expectation of catering to the new customers who were not arriving. The townsfolk from the Governor down had taken title to lands or accepted mortgages in anticipation of the higher prices that would have followed if new buyers had not ceased to appear. When Henry Dunster married in the spring of 1641, the Bay Colony was feeling the pinch of the worst depression that has yet been survived. He could not help his wife balance her budget because her tenants could not pay their rents because the bottom had dropped out of the market for farm produce as for everything else.

Dunster did what he could, and it would not be surprising if the Glover children thought of him ever after as somehow responsible for the loss of many creature comforts after his appearance in their family circle. The dependants who had left their English homes with a belief that they were going to be looked after by a man of unlimited resources cannot be blamed if they likewise nursed a feeling of resentment against the intruder who had taken charge of the family's affairs, with most unpleasant consequences. Steven Day can have had no serious misgivings when he signed a bond to repay within two years the cost of transporting his family, any more than he appears to have hesitated to occupy a house purchased for his use by Mrs. Glover. But after she became Mrs. Dunster the house was sold and the Day family moved to another they had to buy for themselves. A grudge may have sprouted that bore fruit a dozen years later.

The President of the College had been seven weeks married when Hugh Peter sailed for England on August 3, 1641 as an emissary commissioned to raise money which alone could save the settlements from disaster. As should have been foreseen by those who had associated with Peter, he quickly lost interest in what he left behind him across the Atlantic. There were matters of graver import to demand his services. The rulers of the colony sent other representatives; Samuel Shepard was able to get away in October, and Thomas Weld, John Eliot's coadjutor in the Roxbury pastorate and reputed co-author of the translation of the Psalms, followed a few months later.

The emissaries were not satisfied with the results of personal solicitations and issued a general appeal to the Puritan public. This was launched in the winter of 1642/3 with a threefold presentation of the needs of the fellow-Englishmen overseas. It was a 36-page tract entitled *New Englands First Fruits*, "Printed by R. O. and G. D. for Henry Overton. 1643." Two of the initials are those of Gregory Dexter who settled in Rhode Island before another year was out. The *First Fruits* set forth for the consideration of the benevolent the claim of Eliot's missionary work among the natives and of the progress of learning in the College, "With Divers other speciall Matters concerning the Countrey." Eliot's cause proved to be the one that opened the purses of God-fearing dowagers, his presentation of it establishing him as the first and rarely equaled New England writer of begging letters. This publication began a series known to historians and book collectors as the "Eliot Indian Tracts." Within the decade these brought about the endowment of a missionary society which was the chief support of the Cambridge Press for the better part of its life.

The College was represented in the *First Fruits* by an account of its first Commencement written on September 26, 1642, immediately after its celebration. The occasion was a noteworthy one, carefully planned with a view to its effect upon the friends in the Mother Country who might contribute to its continuance. The narrative was documented by a reprint of the program for the exercises. This was an impressive broadside on which were set forth in print the titles of the THESIS which the nine candidates for a degree had been prepared to support during their prolonged course of training. It showed by its contents and its form that the New World offspring of the ancient foundations was intent upon upholding its inheritances.

No copy is known to have been preserved of the first Harvard Com-

mencement THESES printed in 1642, but there can be no question that it closely resembled that of the next year of which there are copies at the Massachusetts Historical Society and at the University of Glasgow. For reasons that are not fully understood the model that was followed typographically was that of Edinburgh University. Perhaps this was to avoid choosing between Oxford and Cambridge, both largely represented among the laity as well as the clergy in New England. The contents of the THESES of 1642 are preserved on the smaller pages of the *First Fruits*, set forth in ways that show its resemblance to the program for 1643.

The THESES of 1642 must have been a single sheet measuring about $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches, with the text in the type used for the BAY PSALM BOOK. The first two lines of the heading were in capital letters of two larger fonts, and in 1643 there was a paragraph in italic in which there are two words in Greek letters. This shows that the Press was provided with Greek type as well as the Hebrew which was used in the BAY PSALM BOOK. As two smaller sizes of roman and italic appear soon after in issues from the Press, there must have been at least eight fonts available for printing English texts. Isaiah Thomas, the last person to examine the output of the Press attentively who was familiar with the kinds of type which were used in its publications, of which he possessed more than any other individual, stated in his *History of Printing in America* in 1810 that it had "fonts of nonpareil, brevier, long primer, small pica, pica, English, great primer and double pica; also small casts of long primer and pica Hebrew, Greek and blacks" i.e. black letter or "old English." Besides a variety of printers' ornaments, there was a supply of all the characters needed for printing an almanac. The Press started with a larger stock and more faces than it ever had use for, and this gave it from the first an institutional character.

The type also brought with it an uncertainty as to its ownership which repeatedly complicated the career of the Press as a business. This fact was not public knowledge but there were persons who knew about it, who apparently saw no occasion for spreading the information until after it made no serious difference to anybody. Then it came out after 1672, as will be explained in due course, that the type had been bought with money contributed by a group of well-wishers to the colony who gave it to nobody in particular but who thought that a new printing establishment might be a good thing. They probably knew that plans were being made for a college which had not yet taken shape, and may have thought of

the Press as an adjunct to this proposal. Mr. Glover in 1638 bought whatever else was requisite for such an undertaking and shipped the type and other appurtenances with his personal belongings. After he died these became a part of his estate, but his direct heirs did not establish a claim to ownership or to the supposed profits from its operation.

The text of the THESES of 1643 was in two columns each $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, an inch wider than the prose pages of the BAY PSALM BOOK but the same width as pages of the Narragansett DECLARATION of two years later. In 1642 there were twenty-five Theses Philologicae (twenty-seven in 1643) in the left hand column, and thirty Theses Philosophicae (twenty-eight in 1643) on the right. At the bottom in 1643 is an imprint line "*Cantabrigiae Nov. Ang. Mens. 8, 1643.*" That of the previous year was doubtless identical except for the substitution of September's 7 for the October of 1643.

The College theses were printed for the second Harvard Commencement but none was needed a year later because there were no candidates for the first degree. Thereafter the printers were called upon to provide the broadside THESES each summer except in the years 1648, 1672, 1682, and 1688 when there were no candidates for the Bachelor's degree. In 1652 and 1654 there was only one student prepared for, and willing to accept, the degree, and in 1655 only two, but this may not have prevented these from receiving the normal honors of graduation. No THESES have been found for these years but this does not prove that none were printed, for there are other years when they must have been provided although no copies have survived. The Harvard Library may have preserved a file until it was destroyed by fire in 1764. It now has only three original impressions of those from the Cambridge Press, for 1687, 1688, and 1691. The Massachusetts Historical Society has half of that for 1647 and copies of 1643, 1670, and 1678. The only others are in the Hunterian Museum of the University of Glasgow, for 1643, 1647, the two of 1653, and 1678. These thirteen copies of ten issues are what survive of forty-eight which are believed to have been printed before 1693.

The academic exercises of the Commencement Day were interrupted for the noonday feast, after which the assembled guests were invited to attend the further proceedings incidental to the awarding of the Master's degree to those graduates of three years before who appeared to claim it. These candidates for the second degree were faced with a shorter array of *QUAESTIONES* printed on a quarter sheet. The series of these

doubtless began in 1645 and continued regularly except for six years when there were no claimants. The Harvard file may have been rescued or salvaged after the fire, for its archives contain twenty-seven of the forty-one that were printed at Cambridge.

¶ Thomas Weld's explanation of the mission to England is in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for January 1882. His financial statement is in the *Register* for April 1885 and from another manuscript in the *Transactions* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts for December 1911. ¶ Facsimiles of the 1643 THESES and the lower half of 1647 are in Dr. S. A. Green's *Ten Fac-simile Reproductions Relating to New England*, Boston 1902, which is dedicated to the Memory of Stephen Daye. Subsequent issues are described in William Coolidge Lane's "Harvard University Broad-sides" in the American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings* for October 1914.

THE DEATH PENALTY

A crime wave is a normal accompaniment of every economic depression, and this was as true in New England in 1642 as in 1932. Governor Winthrop and his advisers were gravely concerned and they decided to issue a warning to evil doers. It was a broadside printed a few weeks earlier than the College THESES of 1642. On June 14 the General Court voted:

It is ordered, that such lawes as make any offence to be capitall shall forthwth bee imprinted & published, of wch lawes the Secretary is to send a coppey to the printer, when it hath bene examined by the Govrnor or Mr Bellingham wth himselfe, & the Treasurer to pay for the printing of them.

Two years later the colony Treasurer drew up a summary of the financial dealings between the College and the colony, which was preserved by being copied into the first Harvard record book which has survived. The cost of printing these laws was included in the entry:

1642 Henry Dunster received 9 li Of wc [which] 12s-6d for
printing ye laws. For ye College received 08-07-06

This does not necessarily imply that the College President was the printer to whom the laws were to be sent, any more than it means that Dunster's wife was not the owner of the Press whose business her husband was attending to. The entry does show that already there was confusion in the public mind involving the Press, the College, Dunster as President and as an individual, and the Glover property. It is not possible

to deduce from the amount of the payment the number of copies that were ordered. Steven Day did not include this among the work of the Press in the list he drew up in 1655/6, where he entered theses and almanacs as a single item. As he was trying to make the charge against Dunster as large as possible, it doubtless means that there had been a negligible number of other minor jobs. At the same time the vote quoted above shows that the legislators knew that there was a printer prepared to receive work, although he is not known to have done anything since the Psalm Book was finished.

No copy of the original issue of these *CAPITALL LAWES* has survived, but they were reprinted in London, in all probability reproducing the appearance of the New England publication. The initiative for the reprint may have come from friends of the colony who thought that this would show the official care for the public weal, or it may have been done for those who were not friendly and who believed that it would reveal the lengths to which the colonists were going in setting up a theocratic government based on the strictest of Old Testament codes. The latter suggestion is supported by the fact that these laws were printed again in 1647 in a tract attacking the rulers of the Bay Colony entitled *New-Englands Jonas Cast up in London*. The author of this did not print from either broadside issue as he gave only twelve laws, not including the three which were added in June 1642 when the order to print was voted. The London broadside reprint has at the bottom:

Printed first in New England, and reprinted in London for Ben. Allen in Popes-head Allen [*sic*]. 1643.

The first three of these laws were those most likely to arouse criticism.

CAPITALL LAWES, Established within the Iurisdiction of Massachusetts.

1. If any man after legall conviction, shall have or worship any other God, but the Lord God, he shall be put to death. *DEUT.* 13.6,&c. and 17.2.&c. *EXODUS* 22.20.
2. If any man or woman be a Witch, that is, hath or consulteth with a familiar spirit, they shall be put to death. *EXOD.* 22.18, *LEV.* 20.27, *DEUT.* 18.10.16.
3. If any person shall blaspheme the Name of God the Father, Sonne, or Holy Ghost, with direct, expresse, presumptuous, or high-handed blasphemy, or shall curse God in the like manner, he shall be put to death. *LEV.* 24.15.16.

Laws 4, 5, and 6 provide for various degrees of murder; wilful, "by cruelty of passion, or through guile by poysoninge." Numbers 7 to 12 provide for sodomy, adultery, rape, and similar offences which had tried

the patience of the sober-minded among the settlers as the narratives written by Governors Winthrop and Bradford abundantly demonstrate. The three laws added in 1642 dealt with man-stealing, "false witness wittingly, and of purpose to take away any mans life," sabotage, and:

16. If any man shall conspire, or attempt any invasion, insurrection, or publick rebellion against our Common-wealth, or shall indeavour to surprize any Townes, Fort or Forts therein: or shall treacherously or perfidiously attempt any alteration and subversion of our frame of pollity, or government fundamentally, he shall be put to death. NUM. 16.2 SAM. 3 & 18 & 20

The Press in these years used two sizes of paper. The Psalms were printed on a sheet measuring about $15\frac{1}{2}$ by 10 inches, which folded twice to give a page $7\frac{3}{4}$ by 5 inches. This establishes the minimum size of the platen of the press brought from England in 1638, which is not likely to have been much larger. The THESES were on a somewhat smaller whole sheet, $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The London reprint suggests that the CAPITALL LAWES were printed on a half of the larger sheet, giving a broadside 10 by $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The London broadside measures $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It is in a larger type than that used for the THESES, which was presumably that which would have been used for these LAWES. A larger paper measuring 15 by $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches was first used for a surviving issue from this Press in 1648 for the LAWES AND LIBERTIES. The London reprint of the CAPITALL LAWES may have been printed on half of a sheet of this size. It was a standard size with London printers and it could have been a third size in the stock of paper brought by Mr. Glover. It is as likely to have been supplied for the laws of 1648 by Hezekiah Usher, who had this codification for sale with his name on the title, from the stock of paper carried by him in his warehouse. There was mechanical skill available in New England at this time amply able to convert the press so that it could take the larger sheet.

The Harvard THESES of 1643 show that the Press was in working order and in competent hands. There is no satisfactory evidence that it had produced anything except two broadsides since the BAY PSALM BOOK. It could undoubtedly have turned out one or more small books if it had been asked to do so, and it may have in the late spring of 1644. In that year Richard Mather preached a sermon to the electorate before they chose the governing officials for the coming year. A few days later John Norton addressed the members of the Artillery Company which styled itself Ancient and Honorable in remembrance of its London prototype,

following the drumhead election of its officers for the new year. On May 29 the General Court voted:

It is ordered, the printer shall have leave to print the election sermon, with Mr Mathers consent, and the artillery sermon, with Mr Nortons consent.

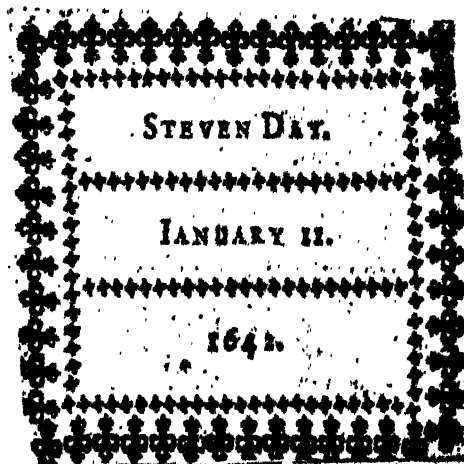
This order is permissive and the legislators did not offer to pay for the printing or to reward the preacher. It would be unwise to stretch the wording to imply any thought of a censorship control over the Press. There is nothing to show that the printer took advantage of the permission. All that can be assumed is that there had been talk of having one of these sermons printed and that the printer sought permission before trying to find out whether it would be a profitable venture. It was twenty years later before printing became a customary reward for the election-day preacher. The General Court would have had a proprietary right to say whether its sermon could be printed, and the artillery sermon may have been included, not for the only time, to avoid any seeming discrimination between the ministers of Dorchester and Boston. The artillerymen assembled seriously only once a year and it may have been felt that an ordinary training day would not be a wise time to ask them about printing their sermon.

☞ The known copy of the London issue of the *CAPITALL LAWS* is reproduced in facsimile in Volume xvii of the *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Boston 1916. The early Harvard records are in Volumes xv and xvi of the same society.

BOOK LABELS

The printed label reproduced opposite from the copy belonging to the American Antiquarian Society (there is another at the British Museum) is the most tantalizing and the most elusive single piece of evidence connected with the Cambridge Press. The name and date associate it inevitably with that Press; the type ornaments raise doubts that have not been convincingly disposed of. There is not a trace of probability to support a suspicion that this Steven Day was not the locksmith of both Cambridges; a single one of the ornaments has been found used once in New England after the Press at Cambridge ceased printing.

At the American Antiquarian Society library the label is a part of the largest collection of pieces known or believed to be from the first New England Press, over 126 separate issues, with its nearest rival claiming 102. This collection was garnered almost wholly from New England



STEVEN DAY BOOK LABEL

sources during a century and a half. This gives an assumption of authenticity to everything in the collection, to which this label is not entitled. The Society secured it when it bought the Frank E. Marshall collection of bookplates in 1919. It is believed to be the copy described in the catalogue of the Julian Marshall collection sold in London on May 28, 1906, where the description repeats the statements penciled on the mount to which the label is still attached. If this handwriting, which looks like that of a secretary or clerk, could be identified, it conceivably might give the ascription some authority, but as it stands it means nothing more than that the label had passed through the hands of someone who knew that a Steven Day was connected with the Press. There is nothing to prove that it was not printed for someone of the same name living elsewhere who chanced to have it done at the very time when the New Englander was intimately associated with a printing shop. This is much more improbable than that it is the second surviving example of overseas English printing.

The elder Day adopted the phonetic *v* in place of *ph* in his signature when he crossed the Atlantic. He signed his name with and without the final *e*, which is rarely significant in handwriting of that time. If, as is believed, Day's chief concern after 1640 was with the ironworks that belonged to John Winthrop junior, January is a time of year when he would have been likely to take time off to watch what might be doing in the printing shop.

This label resembles three that are found in books that belonged to President Dunster, in having a border of type ornaments and a date of puzzling significance. Both of these features are equally characteristic of surviving labels which have the names of Harvard students and dates of the last third of the same century when these students were in college. Reasons can be imagined, but not reasonable ones, to explain how the name of a locksmith who became a prospector for ore came to be the link connecting a youthful dilettante interest of the first President of Harvard with an extra-curricular diversion of college students under his successors.

The facts being as stated, speculation may be given free rein. One possibility can be considered for whatever it may be worth. This starts from a recognition that most of the books have disappeared that belonged to New Englanders before 1675. After that the country settled down. This clears the way for a plausible explanation of the existence of a score of suchlike labels with Harvard names and their College dates late in this

century. The hypothesis is that Henry Dunster introduced to the students under his charge before 1650 the practice of having labels printed to put in their books, as he had done when he was a college in the Mother Country. During the winter following the first Commencement, one or more of the students could have taken up this idea and had such a label printed. If it so happened that Father Day chanced to be in the shop when this was being done, he could have had his own name inserted in a border that had been used with a student's name in the center. There are a number of later instances of different names on labels with identical borders and the same date. If this is what happened, it is a freak of chance that two of the labels printed with Steven Day's name were found by someone over two and a half centuries later, who soaked them off of the covers of books that might have told more of its story in order to sell it to a collector who cared for nothing except the bookplate.

There is a further difficulty. The Steven Day label fits neatly into an imagined sequence, until it is examined critically. The identical printers' ornaments used for its border are found in contemporary English publications, as on page 87 of J. Dike's *The Righteous Man's Tower* which is dated London 1641. It is in other books before and after this date, which proves nothing more than that this was a stock ornament favored by printers at that time which might have been selected by anyone who was gathering material with which to equip a new shop. But there is nothing to show that it was included in the equipment brought to America by Josse Glover. It has not been found in any of the surviving issues of the Cambridge Press, although many similar ornaments were used repeatedly on titles and as headings to text pages. Only once, fifty years later, a single fleur-de-lis like those on the 1642 label was found on a Harvard student's label by Mr. R. W. G. Vail when he was the librarian of the American Antiquarian Society. He reported it in October 1933:

The unusual style of the fleur-de-lis of the Day label was in use in Cambridge or Boston in the seventeenth century. In the Walter Price and Joseph Mors labels (both dated 1693, with identical borders) there is a border of acorns, fleur-de-lis, and other foliated ornaments. Evidently the printer lacked one ornament of having enough for his upper border, for we find a gap in the row of more commonly used ornaments filled by a single example of the unusual fleur-de-lis of the Day label. Even though this ornament does not appear in the extant American printed books of the period, its presence in the Price and Mors labels shows that this particular ornament was available. It

was crudely made, however, and not as artistic as many others in constant use, so it is not at all strange that it was seldom employed.

So tenuous a link between imponderables justifies the imagination in considering another possibility. The Price-Mors labels are dated 1693, and the last piece of printing that is recorded as coming from the shop that Samuel Green had been operating since 1649 is dated 1692. Samuel's son Bartholomew began to print for himself at Boston in 1693. Careless presswork makes it hard to be sure whether he secured a new stock of type or took some of his father's material across the river when he opened his Boston shop a few months after the Cambridge shop closed. It is unlikely that all of the stock at Cambridge, some of which had been there since 1638, was worth moving. One of the reasons why Father Green had not been able to compete with the more modern establishments in the metropolis after 1675 was that his type and presses had worn out. If Bartholomew left in the shop on the ground floor of the Indian College in the Harvard Yard whatever he did not consider worth moving, it might have occurred to two of the students to enter the building and amuse themselves by overhauling what they found there.

MR. W. G. Vail's announcement of the discovery of the ornament in the Price and Mors labels is in his report as librarian in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for October 1933, where there is also a list of the names and dates on other American labels of that century. The Henry Dunster labels are reproduced from books in the Harvard Library in S. E. Morison's *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge 1936.

CHAPTER IV

BUSINESS OPENINGS

SCHOOLBOOKS

THE SPELLING BOOK was the only output of the Press for the years from 1642 to 1645 that Steven Day recollected when he listed its work a decade later. Among the titles that have disappeared which were produced at this shop, there is nothing that tempts the imagination more than this schoolbook. Nothing seen in any of the bibliographies, English or American, helps to visualize what it may have looked like or what was on its pages. It was probably a tiny thing, a quarter sheet of paper folded three times, with a cut on the outer pages to serve as a cover. Some copies for the children of the well-to-do may have had a wrapper of gaily decorated wallpaper. It was almost certainly intended for the little ones who attended a dames school after they had conned their letters from a hornbook. When one considers the care with which the Massachusetts settlers provided elementary schooling at public expense for their children, it is not surprising that this is the first thing after an almanac which unmistakably partakes of the character of a commercial venture.

The contents of this first New England printed schoolbook may have been preserved in the *New England Primer*. In every edition of that primer a list of words to be spelled, grouped by the number of syllables, occupies the second place following the letters of the large and small alphabets. If those lists were taken over from a separate spelling book, that was one of the germs which developed into the best seller of all time in this corner of the world. The other basic element in the *New England Primer* was the catechism wherewith the children were taught to read. The consolidation of these two with the hornbook took place within the next two decades, perhaps at the composing case of a far-sighted London printer who realized that there were in the American colony more people than anywhere else in the world within an equal area who would spend money for books for their children's schooling.

There had been separately printed catechisms long before a new England was thought of. The parents of the men and women who migrated

to Massachusetts Bay had come to a realization that, having thought their way out from the inbred inheritances from the Roman Church and from ritualized Protestantism, they must furnish their children with a core of basic beliefs which would replace everything that had been taken for granted by religious people throughout Christianized Europe. The history of Protestantism for more than a hundred years is made up largely of the efforts to select and phrase the essentials of belief. For the Independents of New England who came to be known as Congregationalists, there was an approach toward agreement in William Perkins' *The Foundation of Christian Religion gathered into Six Principles*, of which the earliest known edition printed in 1590 may be the first. The church-going settlers, before they left England, came nearer to agreeing upon what they had imbibed from the *Six Principles* than on anything at any time afterward.

The leader of the Pilgrim refugees in Holland, John Robinson, provided them with a significantly named *A Brief Catechisme concerning Church Government . . . may fitly be adjoynd to Mr. Perkins Six Principles*. There were a score or more of other nonconformist catechisms in print before this, to perplex students of English Protestantism. The New Englanders brought many of these with them and they went promptly to work to compose others. Not all of them got into print. One such was prepared by Samuel Stone, who was the Teacher of the church at Hartford from 1635 until his death in 1663. His "A Body of Divinity, in a catechetical way" survives in manuscript copies, one of which fills 540 quarto pages. In the *Magnalia* of 1702 Cotton Mather wrote of it:

This Rich Treasure has often been transcribed by the vast Pains of our Candidates for the Ministry; and has made some of our most considerable Divines. But all Attempts for the Printing of it, hitherto proved abortive.

Twenty years after the author's death his son brought suit against the administrator of the estate "for unjust detaining from him the product of a certain book or Catechism bequeathed to him by his Father, and sold by his mother to the vallue of sixty pounds." There must have been something more than the number of words in this manuscript or its American authorship standing between it and getting into type. Samuel Newman, who was "a poor labourer in the Lord's vineyard, and now teacher of the Church at Rehoboth in New England," supplied himself with paper, quills, and writing fluid sufficient to prepare for the printers:

A Large and Complete Concordance to the Bible According to the last Translation, much enlarged and amended for the good both of Schollers and others: far exceeding the most perfect that ever was extant in our Language, both in ground-work and building. London. Printed for Thomas Dovvnes and James Young. M.DC.XLIII.

The first edition of Newman's *Concordance* fills 681 folio pages; a wearied bibliographical accountant entered the subsequent reprints of 1650 and 1658 as having signatures A to ZZZZZ in fours, leaving the inquisitive historian to make his own calculations.

Samuel Stone of Hartford also composed a shorter catechism which may have been the one that Cotton Mather had in mind in compiling a list of those that had been "published." This is not known to have been printed before 1684, twenty-one years after the author's death, when it came out with the imprint "Boston in New England. Printed by Samuel Green for John Wadsworth of Farmington" in Connecticut. Stone had married into the wealthy Wadsworth family.

Richard Mather likewise prepared a longer and a shorter catechism. The shorter one cannot now be found, but the other was printed with the title:

A Catechisme or, The Grounds and Principles of Christian Religion, set forth by way of Question and Answer. Wherein the summe of the Doctrine of Religion is comprised, familiarly opened, and clearly confirmed from the Holy Scriptures. By Richard Mather, Teacher to the Church at Dorchester in New-England. London, Printed for Iohn Rothwell, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Sunne and Fountaine in Pauls Church-yard neer the little North-gate. 1650.

Five years before this 136-page guide appeared, the author's parishioners in town meeting assembled on March 14, 1645, voted that their schoolmaster "Every 6 day of the week at 2 of the Clock in the afternoone shall catechise his schollers . . . either in some Catechism which the wardens shall provide and present, or in defect thereof in some other." The pastor's shorter catechism had evidently not then been prepared. The provision for free textbooks was renewed in February 1665 when the Dorchester town meeting voted that "the new impression of Mr. Mather's Catechismes should be payd for, out of a Towne Rate, and so the books to become the Towns." This implies an earlier issue, but no copy of any date has been recorded.

The catechism served a double purpose as a schoolbook before it

was embodied in the *New England Primer*. When on October 24, 1668 the legislators received a printed draft of the existing law headed "Children and Youth" for revision, having determined to put teeth in the provisions dealing with juvenile delinquency, they directed the selectmen:

that they see that all Children and Youth be taught to Read perfectly the English Tongue, have knowledge of the Capital Lawes and be taught some Orthodox Catechisme, and that they be brought up to some honest employment profitable to themselves and the Common Wealth . . . and if it doth appear that the solid men are negligent in executing ye lawes therein mentioned, the Court shall proceed agt them by admonition or fine as the merit of the case may require.

Finding that disorderly behavior continued, on March 10 following a printed circular was addressed:

TO THE ELDERS AND MINISTERS OF EVERY TOWN within the Jurisdiction of the Massachusetts in New England, desiring and urging you to be very diligent and careful to Catechize and Instruct all the people (especially the Youth) under your Charge, in the Sound and Orthodox Principles of the Christian Religion and also that you labour to inform yourselves whether the Youth are taught to Reade the English Tongue.

Not every New England community before 1665 supported a pastor who felt called upon to impart his individual opinions on the fundamentals of belief to the rising generation. Not all of the ministers who composed a special catechism persuaded their people to supply the children with a local textbook. The aftermath of the depression of 1640 hung over the colony for twenty years and throughout this period the Cambridge Press barely held its own until it was revitalized by the missionary money that paid for printing the Indian Bible. Nevertheless during these years the Press is recorded as producing catechisms for Salem about 1648 and New Haven about 1650. There still exist copies of those printed for Chelmsford in 1657; Boston in 1660; Newbury in 1661; and Hampton in 1663. Three others are recorded which could have been printed at Cambridge although they may equally well have been sent to a London shop where the printing would undoubtedly have cost less.

¶ This chapter owes everything to four or five book collectors who preserved catechisms printed in New England. Two of them were Mathers, Increase and Cotton, whose library undoubtedly supplied the younger one with the titles mentioned by him in a passage about to be quoted. The names of one or two

others are not known, but he or they possessed two bound pamphlet volumes before the middle of the eighteenth century which contained a large proportion of those surviving from the previous century. One of these still contains seven of the earliest Cambridge printed catechisms and is to be seen in a private library where it will be safe until it passes into the control of a professional librarian or a bookseller. The other, which may have been bound for the same original collector, contained nine dated from 1656 to 1740 until it fell into the hands of the most successful of these book lovers, George Livermore. When his collection was dispersed in 1894, Wilberforce Eames's amazingly accurate appraisal of fundamental bookish values resulted in its transfer almost intact to the Lenox Collection in the New York Public Library. Mr. Eames's comprehensive survey of these and other catechisms was printed in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for October 1897, and from it this chapter is derived.

⚭ A facsimile reprint of Mr. Stone's catechism was issued at Hartford in 1899 by the Acorn Club of Connecticut bibliophiles.

PRINTED CATECHISMS

In 1641 the best minds in the colony were worrying about the solidity of the spiritual foundations underlying the New England settlements. In his *Plain Dealing* printed the next year, Thomas Lechford reported one thing that was being discussed:

there is no catechizing of children or others in any church (except in Concord Church, & in other places, of those admitted, in their receiving) the reason given by some is, because when people come to be admitted, the Church hath tryall of their knowledge, faith, and repentance, and they want a direct Scripture for Ministers catechizing; as if, *Goe teach all Nations*, and *Traine up a childe in the way he should goe*, did not reach to Ministers catechizing. But, God be thanked, the Generall Court was so wise, in June last, as to enjoin, or take some course for such catechizing, as I am informed, but know not the way laid down in particular, how it should be done.

Lechford's uncertainty is interesting. He knew that in June 1641 the Court "desired that the elders would make a catechism for the instruction of youth in the grounds of religion," but the members did not agree upon the specifications until the next year. Then a law was passed to which the codification of 1648 gave a heading:

CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Forasmuch as the good education of children is of singular behoofe & benefitt to any Common-wealth, & whereas many parents & masters are too indulgent

& negligent of their duty in that kind. It is Ordered . . . that all masters of families, do once a week (at the least) catechise their children and servants . . . & if any be unable to do so much; that then at the least they procure such children and apprentices to learn some short orthodox catechism without book, that they may be able to answer unto the questions . . . their parents or masters or any of the Selectmen, when they shall call them to a tryall.

Hugh Peter set sail for England a few weeks after the above vote was passed and there should have been opportunity on a summer voyage to exercise his never inactive mind on the subject of the needed catechism. Before the year was out there appeared:

Milke for Babes, and Meat for men. Or, Principles necessary to be knowne and learned of such as would know Christ here or be known of him hereafter. By Hugh Peters, sometimes lecturer at St. Sepulchre's, London, now teacher in New England. London, Printed by E.P. for J.W. 1641.

John Williams had a London bookshop that Peter was likely to have visited, and Elizabeth Purslowe managed a larger printing establishment than the scanty notices of her would have required. One suspects that neither Salem nor Boston purchased of Hugh Peter's milking as largely as his publisher had been led to expect. He took only 34 pages to set forth his doctrine, but this was more than twice what a much abler and more dutifully worshiped leader of Boston thought, John Cotton, required. Cotton's 13-page manual was to be had in New England the next season, with the title that was to remain one of the keys to the shrine of the Puritan faith:

The Doctrine of the Church, To which is committed the Keys of the Kingdome of Heaven. Wherein is demonstrated by way of Question and Answer, what a visible Church is according to the Order of the Gospel: and what Officers, Members, Worship and Government Christ hath ordained in the New Testament. By that Reverend and Learned Divine, Mr. John Cotton, B.D. and Teacher of the Church at Boston, in New-England. London: Printed for Benjamin Allen. 1642.

The second edition was printed according to a more perfect copy for Allen and Sam. Satterthwaite the next year, and thereafter this adult catechism ran a long race for popularity with the same author's directive for the younger generation, of which the earliest recorded edition has a title that impinges on that of Hugh Peter:

Milk for Babes. Drawn out of the Breasts of both Testaments. Chiefly for the Spirituall nourishment of Boston Babes in either England: and may be of like

use for any Children. By John Cotton, B.D. and Teacher to the Church of Boston in New-England. London. Printed by J. Coe, for Henry Overton, and are to be sold at his Shop in Popes-Head-Alley. 1646.

Cotton's *Milk for Babes* was incorporated into the *New England Primer* and therein became the mainstay of Congregational orthodoxy.

Typical of their time were two brothers, Daniel and Ezekiel Rogers, who piloted groups of their parishioners across the Atlantic on the flood tide of the migration. Daniel was minister at Haversham in Buckinghamshire when he published three editions, the last in 1640, of *A Practicall Catechisme: or, A View of those principall truths according to Godlinessse*. The imprint of the first edition is "London, Printed by I.N. for Samuel Man. 1632." Daniel Rogers died at Wethersfield in Connecticut in 1652. His brother Ezekiel served as chaplain to a gentleman's family in Essex until his patron provided him with a living at Rowley in Yorkshire. In the pregnant year 1638 he led the flock to an agreeable townsite in northern Massachusetts to which they gave the name of the village they came from. When catechizing became the order of the day, Ezekiel found a London publisher for the manuscript which he had used when he was serving in Sir Francis Barrington's house, entitling it:

The Chief Grounds for Christian Religion set down by way of Catechising, gathered long since for the use of an honourable family. By Ezekiel Rogers, Minister of God's Word, sometime of Rowley in Yorkshire, now in New England. London: Printed by I.L. for Christopher Meredith, at the Sign of the Crane in Paul's Churchyard. 1642

Other catechisms by and for New Englanders came in a steady stream from London presses during the ensuing years. When Increase Mather was called upon in 1679 to introduce to its readers *The First Principles of the Doctrine of Christ* by James Fitch of Norwich, printed at Boston by John Foster, he called attention to the multiplicity of these guidebooks among which the faithful had to find their way:

These last Ages have abounded in labours of this kind; one speaketh of no less than five hundred Catechisms extant: which of these is most eligible, I shall leave unto others to determine. I suppose there is no particular Catechism, of which it may be said, it is the best for every Family, or for every Congregation.

The next generation of the Mather family found the labor of compiling the ecclesiastical history of New England which he entitled

Magnalia Christi Americana simplified by the possession of the library accumulated by two preceding generations. Cotton Mather reflected what he found on its shelves in writing:

Few Pastors of Mankind ever took such pains at Catechising as have been taken by our New English Divines: Now let any Man living read the most judicious and elaborate Catechisms published, a lesser and a larger by Mr. Norton, a lesser and a larger by Mr. Mather, several by Mr. Cotton, one by Mr. Davenport, one by Mr. Stone, one by Mr. Norris, one by Mr. Noyes, one by Mr. Fisk, several by Mr. Eliot, one by Mr. Seaborn Cotton, a large one by Mr. Fitch; and say, whether true Divinity were ever better handled.

A persistent report claimed that the first of these to be put forth, and the first to be printed in the colony, was the BRIEF CATECHISM prepared by James Noyes, who died in 1656 after ministering to the church at Newbury for twenty years. A part of the report was that this was produced in response to the demand of the General Court in 1641. It would not necessarily follow that it was printed at Cambridge in that year, for it might as well have been sent to London for its first edition; it might also have been the first catechism to be printed at Cambridge. The earliest edition known was printed at Cambridge five years after its author died, and it continued to be issued until 1797.

Two of the Cambridge catechisms are known only from entries in the List of 1655/6. Following the Law Book of 1648 appears:

Mr Norrice Katechisme	07-10-00
about 3. Rheam papr	01-00-00
to abate for printing	03-00-00
	03-10-00

As the charge for printing in this list is usually reckoned at a pound a sheet, this catechism consisted of three sheets, either 24 quarto pages or 48 in small octavo, and there was paper for five hundred copies or more, as the charge is more than the usual five shillings a ream. The author was undoubtedly Edward Norris who remained at Salem as Teacher of its first church after Hugh Peter departed for service with the Parliamentary forces.

The other entry in the List of 1655/6 was supplied by Samuel Green who became the Cambridge printer in 1649. His second entry, between known titles of 1649 and 1651, is:

Mr Davenport's Katechism	10.00.00
abate for printing. & paper	06.00.00
	<hr/>
	04.00.00
Rest	04.00.00
& a 100. bookes	1.00.00
	<hr/>
	5.00.00

These figures may not be correct, for there had been a lapse of five years and perhaps of memory. In the next entry Green forgot and understated the amount he had received for printing the revised edition of the Psalms by the sizable amount of £10, which the attorney who was taking the depositions also neglected to deduct from the profit which they were assuming that Dunster had received. The object in making this list was to make Dunster's profit as large as possible, and the value of the extra hundred of Davenport's catechism was added to the column of the profits from other publications. If the hundred copies were worth a pound, the wholesale rate would have been nearly two and a half pence apiece, which would have meant a retail price of five pence, which would then have meant in turn a sizable publication. At the wholesale rate for the whole, there were a thousand copies, with a 10% overrun. The implication is that the extras were turned over to Dunster, and the market value charged against him when this settlement was figured without his knowledge. No account was made of the cost of printing these extra copies, presumably because the regular charge of a pound a sheet did not vary with the number that went through the press, and the cost of the paper was not enough to bother about. The allowance of £6 for printing and paper for an edition of a thousand copies presumably means that each copy took four sheets, giving four pounds for printing and eight reams of paper at four to a pound.

John Davenport of New Haven left his mark on New England religious thought, and the loss of his catechism is regrettable. When he was called to Boston's First Church in 1669, his selection precipitated a violent church row. This makes it probable that he did not modify the views which were expressed in the earlier edition when his catechism was printed again for the guidance of his Boston parishioners. Neither edition is known, but in the 1701 edition of the *Cambridge Platform* James Allen said of the 1669 edition:

The Reverend Mr. John Davenport, in his Catechism, Printed Anno 1669 for the use of the first Church in Boston, of which he was then Pastor; shows

his concurrence with the Platform of Church Discipline in matters Relating to Church Government.

President Dunster had a copy of the Davenport CATECHISM of 1650 to give away and thought highly of it as a contribution to the discussion of matters of current interest with which he could agree at a time when his own views were being criticized. In a letter to friends of his youth at Bury in Lancashire, who had heard of his difficulties, he refers to the questions that were being raised on account of those who had been baptized in infancy but could give no satisfactory proof of regeneration in mature years. Dunster explained the brevity of his account of this phase of the controversy by saying that "I have herewith sent you Mr. Davenport's Catechism" in which the subject was adequately treated. He adds a remark which reveals an observant recognition of underlying trends in the community in which he was living: "But I have not known any of these formally excommunicated because they neither cared for nor sought Communion."

The earliest catechism printed at Cambridge which can still be seen, in a private library, is also probably the first edition of:

A SHORT CATECHISM FAMILIARLY TEACHING THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD, and of our Selves. First Composed, and Improved, for the Private Instruction of the Younger Sort in Cambridge. By Thomas Shepard Late faithfull Pastor of the Church of Christ there. And now Published at the earnest desire of sundry well affected persons. Printed by Samuel Green at Cambridg in New-England. 1654.

Two years after this, Hezekiah Usher ordered from Green a supply of John Cotton's SPIRITUAL MILK FOR BOSTON BABES IN EITHER ENGLAND, of which the title of the London 1646 edition has already been quoted. It was incorporated into the *New England Primer* where it became a mainstay of orthodox belief. At the Boston church Cotton was followed by John Norton in 1652. Norton had been settled at Ipswich and while there had sent to London for printing in 1648:

A Brief and Excellent Treatise containing the Doctrine of Godlinesse, or Living unto God. Wherein the Body of Divinity is substantially proposed and methodically digested, by way of Question and Answer.

After he was called to Boston Norton packed this treatise into 22 pages of A BRIEF CATECHISM which was "Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1660," perhaps not for the first time. The next year, 1661, the Cambridge print-

ers brought out the BRIEF CATECHISM of James Noyes, the first of many editions of which the date is known.

Two other local catechisms are extant from this period of the Press, both of them from towns on the northern border of the colony:

THE WATERING OF THE OLIVE PLANT IN CHRISTS GARDEN. Or a Short Catechism For the First Entrance of our Chelmsford Children: Enlarged by A three-fold Appendix By John Fisk Pastour of the Church of Christ at Chelmsford in New-England. Printed by Samuel Green at Cambridg in New-England. 1657.

The preface to this is dated at Chelmsford "this 25 of 1.mo.1657," which places it early in the output of that year.

A BRIEF SUMME OF THE CHEIF ARTICLES OF OUR CHRISTIAN FAITH. Composed by way of Question and Answer, Now Published, especially for the Benefit of the Town of Hampton. By Seaborn Cotton. Cambridg, Printed by Samuel Green. 1663.

Other New England communities had their choice of catechisms which were to be found in stock or could be imported by the Boston or Salem merchants who carried current publications. The outlying settlements were supplied in part at least from the packs of itinerant chapmen. Some, like William Perkins' *Six Principles*, had enjoyed a popularity for generations. Others carried the names of famous Puritan divines. Two of the colonial clergymen, John Cotton and Thomas Shepard, held their own with any others in the market for nonconformist theology on both sides of the Atlantic. Seven London editions of Cotton's catechism and three of Shepard's were issued before 1656 and these cannot all have found purchasers in the New World. At least nineteen editions of catechisms by an American author have been counted which were printed in England during the two decades in which six are known to have come from the Cambridge Press. This would establish a three-to-one probability that any composition by a New England author throughout the middle decades of the seventeenth century would have been sent to England to be printed. Further evidence tending to confirm this estimate will find a place in later chapters.

⁸The document cited herein as the "List of 1655/6" was first printed in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for 1888; again in *The Library* of the Bibliographical Society, London June 1939, from which it is reprinted in Chapter VII. In 1888 the name Davenport was misread "Dan-

forth," creating a ghost-title which has spread beyond recall through Mr. Eames's paper in the Antiquarian Society's *Proceedings* for 1897 to other bibliographical works.

TRoublesome INDIANS

Following Harvard's first Commencement the students of the remaining classes were collected to eat and sleep in the still unfinished College Hall. A few of the members of the recently graduated class stayed at Cambridge to enjoy the life together and prepare for their second degree. Those who could afford to pay for the carpenters' work were allotted chambers on the upper floor, which they made habitable with wainscoting and paneling according to their own ideas, retaining proprietary rights which could be disposed of to those who succeeded to the occupancy. One of these chambers was taken by Mrs. Dunster's brother, Richard Harris, whose presence in the building must have helped to preserve order when the President was at his wife's home some distance from the College Yard. Nothing of consequence is known to have disturbed the routine of college or domestic life until the ensuing summer, when Mrs. Dunster died in August 1643, leaving to her relict further managerial perplexities and complications.

Within another year there were two more changes at the mansion house. Josse Glover's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, and the Governor's son Adam Winthrop were married; and the President replaced her in the family circle with Elizabeth Atkinson, a young woman of about the same age, as his second wife. Mr. Dunster's first marriage, which had seemed so promising from a worldly standpoint, had not turned out precisely as he might have expected. For his second nuptials he took the daughter of a family living in Charlestown of Baptist proclivities. Their first-born, David, came in May 1645. About that time the elder of Mr. Glover's two sons departed for England. There he claimed his inheritance, enlisted in the Parliamentary army, and died in Cromwell's assault on Edinburgh Castle, presumably leaving his property to his two sisters, now both married into the Winthrop family.

Responsibilities at the residence facing the town market place, a quarter-mile from the College Hall, must have made it difficult for the President to maintain a satisfactory supervision over the goings-on of the collegers. The suitable upkeep of the domestic establishment became increasingly difficult and then impossible for financial reasons. This situation accounts for the action of the General Court on November 13, 1644,

when it voted to give Dunster £150 "to be expended for a house to be built for ye said president." It was located where a watch could be kept on the students going into the town, and in planning it accommodations were provided for the printing equipment, perhaps in a corner room but more probably in a shed or wing with rooms for students above, under the same roof.

About the time that the Press moved on to College property, it was once more called upon to do work for the government. The officials found themselves in a position where they felt obliged to issue a public explanation of what they were doing. This appeared in a seven-page tract, a double fold of a single sheet of the paper that had been used for the Psalm Book but in smaller type on a larger type page, leaving narrower margins. The text page measures about 6 by 4¼ inches with 37 lines of text; the BAY PSALM BOOK page of 31 lines of prose, with headline, is the same height but 3⅜ inches wide. There is no title page but a heading on the first page reads:

A DECLARATION OF FORMER PASSAGES AND PROCEEDINGS BETWIXT THE ENGLISH AND THE NARROWGANSETS, with their confederates, Wherin the grounds and justice of the ensuing warr are opened and cleared.

Published, by order of the Commissioners for the united Colonies, at Boston the 11 of the sixth month 1645.

The cost of printing and the number of copies are given in a bill signed by Dunster and preserved in the Massachusetts archives:

An Account of Expenses layed out for ye Country from August 1645 until this 8th of October 1646.

First for ye printing five hundred Declarations	4:00:00
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The text is signed at the bottom of page 7, "Jo: Winthrop President, in the name of all the Commissioners." It was probably written by him and submitted for suggestions and approval to the representatives of the other colonies of Plymouth, New Haven, and Hartford, which had united in 1643 for mutual protection against internal or external disturbers of their peace and security. As a body these Commissioners were to have a great deal to do with the Press throughout the ensuing thirty years.

The DECLARATION OF FORMER PASSAGES is a summary recital of repeated affronts given by the natives who occupied the not yet settled region which was being hemmed in by the English who had established

themselves along the seashore of southern New England and were spreading inland in a widening band that stretched westward from Boston to the Connecticut River. One reason for the difficulties was the feeling of encirclement on the part of the natives, but a larger share of the underlying cause came from the fact that the Englishmen were unable to comprehend the point of view of those who had been in undisturbed possession when the Europeans arrived. The newcomers had made themselves at home as if the country belonged to them, and the reasons they gave for claiming to have a right to be there were wholly incomprehensible to the far from unintelligent aborigines. This aspect of the situation will not be found in the recital of 1645. Moreover, there is nothing discernible in the condition of affairs public or private anywhere among the English settlers which seems to require such a defensive justification for military action as constitutes the DECLARATION.

The way these and other things in the colony looked to a youthful college instructor who had graduated in 1643 and was now awaiting his second degree may be seen in the retrospective summary of the history of the previous two decades which the first New England writer of topical verse, Samuel Danforth, offered as his third contribution to the first New England periodical publication, the annual ALMANACK for 1649.

But by & by grave Monanattock rose,
 Grim Sasacus with swarms of Pequottoes,
 Who smote our hindermost, whose arrows stung,
 Who vow'd with English blood their ground to dung.
 But Mistick flames & th' English sword soon damps
 This rampant crue; pursues them in their swamps,
 And makes them fly their land with fear and shame:
 That th' Indians dread now is the English name.

Just when these hounds first bit, Truth suffers scorne,
 Strange errors bark, the devil winds his horne,
 And blows men almost wilde; Opinion
 Within the house would mistresse it alone.
 The poyson kills, makes light, loose, high, divides,
 And would have broke to factions, fractions, sides.
 The Thrones were therefore set, and in that day
 When Pequots fly, Opinion hasts away.

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The birds consulted once, who should appear
 Against their enemies in battel heer.

To strip us of our food was first the plot:
Upon the Pigeons therefore fell the lot.
Their troops were numberles, darkning the skies,
Spyling the fields in dreadfull companies,
When to their losse they thus had took much prey,
One sounds retrait, apace they haste away.

The high & mighty states conspired, how
To cut off all the English at a blow.
Be wise, look noble Uncas unto it:
Thou canst scarce save thyself by Foxens wit,
And by thy fall comes in the English wo,
If it may be by Miantonimo.
Brave Uncas thinks, he is too high, by th'head,
And cuts it off; so wee delivered.

Armies of earthly Angels then arose,
Who from her crown the Summer would depose.
They march in mighty troops, from place to place:
Pitcht fields fell down before their grizly face.
It past all humane skill, how to engage
The fowles against the caterpillers rage;
But suddenly to-flight, they all prepare;
No man knows how, unles it was by pray'r.

THE MISSIONARY SPIRIT

In the absence of any local necessity for making such a formal statement, a reason for putting the *DECLARATION OF FORMER PASSAGES* into print must be looked for overseas. There, the year 1645 was not a time when either of the contenders for the control of the English government was likely to give thought to anything that the colonists were doing to their native neighbors. Nevertheless there were a few persons in the Mother Country whose thoughts on this matter interested the colonial officials acutely. These were almost certainly the ones for whom the Declaration was prepared.

Hugh Peter and Thomas Weld had not succeeded in raising money enough to relieve the depression in the colony, and both abandoned the effort. Peter, eager for action, became engrossed in the operations of the Parliamentary command, while Weld found a spot where he could settle down beyond the reach of those same activities. In 1647 the colony

treasurer acknowledged that he had received £56 which had been given in England for the College but which had not been passed along to Mr. Dunster. Apparently the money had been remitted in goods consigned to the merchants who acted as bankers, so that it never reached the treasurer as recognizable cash, and there was not enough of it at any one time to call for attention.

The reports from London showed that none of the friends of the colony who could have made considerable gifts were in a mood to do so at this time. London counting houses were no longer interested in New England as a refuge for Puritans who were doing very well by themselves at home, nor did the College appeal to the parents of youths who would now be welcomed to the older Cambridge by a faculty of strongly Independent leanings. There was only one thing that created a mild interest among the pious City merchants or that started conversation with members of their families, the salvation of the heathen natives. This was a subject that took their minds away from more immediate mundane concerns and into the realm of spiritual welfare in this world and the next, both their own future and that of the unconverted for whose redemption they were prepared to accept responsibility.

The men of these families had subscribed to the stock of the Massachusetts Bay Company in 1628 because it was a good cause, sponsored by the right people, which might turn out to be a profitable venture. The business aspect of the Company was soon submerged in political developments and the subscribers lost their money, according to their bookkeeping. Actually most of them profited satisfactorily as a result of their control of the trade with the Bay settlements. The Company as a business undertaking disappeared in a fog of sermonizing out of which the new commonwealth appeared in a mirage as a theocratic community, a spiritual haven for those seeking to worship the God of their own conceiving. Eddying through the tidal rips of these visionary ideals of a heaven on earth for true believers, was the missionary theme of salvation for the unregenerate savages who had never heard the Gospel message and for whom eternal perdition was foreordained unless they could be led to the tables of the Sacred Scriptures.

A small group of devoutly religious women of mature years, dowagers of the City Puritan families, responded to the appeal for help to convert the Indians. Controlling ample incomes, freed from domestic cares and responsibilities, they had abundant leisure for thought of their religious duties and responsibilities. They were likewise the custodians of the

inherited wisdom of the world in which they had lived and served. One cannot doubt that Hugh Peter, even more promptly than his colleagues, sought out these matrons to lay before them a picture of limitless fields of ripened souls awaiting a harvester. Nor can one doubt that he was welcomed hospitably as well as sympathetically, and that he did not depart unrewarded. But he did not obtain all that his hostesses had to give.

The needs as well as the accomplishments of the clergy in the faraway colony made a moving story, but John Eliot was the one of whom there was most to tell. He had already taken a native unpaid servant into his home and he had gone to the Indian villages nearby to tell the Gospel story as best he could. He had applied himself to the study of their speech so that he might address them in their own tongue, and if opportunity opened to him, might give them the Word of God in print. We do not know that those whose hearts responded most feelingly to this appeal put their heads together or that they did not act independently each in her own way. All that can now be learned is that before long it came to the knowledge of those men of affairs who made up the responsible inner circle of civic life in Massachusetts that the Reverend Mr. Eliot of Roxbury was spending more money than could be accounted for by his known income. He was showing an increasingly ardent zeal for his work with the Indians, to which he was giving more and more of his time. He had the means to reward those who listened to the Gospel message, with warm garments and the white man's implements of husbandry, to aid in weaning them from their unregenerate past. Those whose business it was to know what was going on in the country made repeated efforts to find out the source of the income which had shown itself in the Apostle's own more comfortable living conditions, without result that could be reported. When he insisted that this was nobody's business but his own, it is more than likely that he was acting in compliance with the injunctions of those from whom the remittances came. It is certain that the givers knew how to accomplish the end they had in view, because the money kept on coming for twenty years, to the prolonged discomfiture of the authorities in Boston who wanted to know how much they ought to provide, in addition to what he received otherwise, to make up the missionary stipend to which Eliot was entitled in their opinion. His own opinion he kept to himself.

In 1645 the amount of money that reached the colony for the purpose of converting the heathen had not become an important factor in alleviating the economic depression. This depression had by this time,

however, begun to adjust itself through the operation of more normal influences. But it was already evident that there was a source that would be worth cultivating by those who were responsible for the future welfare of the colony. Obviously the English folk who might give money to convert the natives would not be encouraged by the news that those to whom it was hoped they would entrust their gifts were engaged in killing those same natives by attacking them in their homes. If a military expedition to punish the Narragansetts was inevitable, there was a pressing necessity of explaining the reasons to those English friends before they formed opinions which might lead them to stop making further contributions. This would explain the publication of the DECLARATION OF FORMER PASSAGES.

It was at about this time that Mr. Dunster made his contribution to the effort to Christianize the natives. There had been nobody in the College to graduate in 1644, and the three classes in residence a year later mustered only eleven candidates in all on their respective Commencements. With the College dormitory scantily populated, the financial problem of keeping the institution going must have seemed unpromising. The President bethought himself of the natives and proposed that they be sent to college. It was a suggestion that fitted neatly into the scheme of appealing for benefactions from supporters in the Mother Country. It can hardly have met with as favorable a response from those who had sons preparing to go to Harvard.

The only result of Dunster's proposal was that he was called upon to take charge of two children who were too young for any but the most elementary instruction. The College dormitory was obviously out of the question, and accommodations were found for them under the Presidential roof-tree. After fifteen months, Dunster submitted a bill covering the period from August 1645, to October 8, 1646, in which medical attention figured largely. He accompanied this with a request that the children be taken off his hands. He also mentioned the name of one of them, James. This could have been the boy who was apprenticed to the printer a decade later and who made a respectable place for himself in the community as James Printer, a competent craftsman and a better penman, if no better speller, than Steven Day. The Printer family received grants of land like their neighbors and in time disappeared into the life of the rural community.

☞ The DECLARATION of 1645 was reproduced in facsimile by Dr. S. A. Green in his *Ten Fac-simile Reproductions Relating to New England*, Boston 1902.

☞ There is another account of President Dunster's effort to introduce native students to Harvard in S. E. Morison's *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge 1936.

HELP FROM A HAVEN

The heavy migration into the Bay settlements during their first decade was not all gain. A limited number of outright troublemakers were promptly purged, for the peace of mind of the majority. The colony had been planned deliberately as a refuge from controversial, argumentative opinions concerning matters of religious import, and the Independent leaders were determined that those who had trusted them in the hegira to the New World should be protected in their desire for peace and spiritual quiet. Those individuals were unwelcome who were unwilling to forego the intellectual dissipation of advocating debatable points of dogma or practice. When these declined to leave of their own accord, they were expelled. Some of these uneasy souls, determined to have trouble at whatever cost, returned to the homeland and devoted themselves to satisfying their desire for revenge on the rulers of the colony. A few of them obtained a considerable personal satisfaction, but their animus was so evident that contemporary English opinion appraised their publications more accurately than have some later historical authorities.

A number of those whom the Massachusetts people did not want to have around and who were told this more or less forcibly, had no wish to return to the England which they had left for their own, and perhaps its, good. Most of these took themselves off to find a resting place out of the reach of the Massachusetts government. Some of them went north to settle beyond the Merrimack River; others tried Long Island less happily; more of them went no further than the head of Narragansett Bay. There Roger Williams made a home for himself when he was forced to leave Plymouth and Salem. The community which grew up about him served a useful purpose as a convenient gathering place for a considerable number of individuals who could best be spared from the larger community, but whose peculiarities aroused no more serious objections.

Boston and Providence did not relax their determination to have nothing to do with one another in their public relations, when they could help it. This became increasingly difficult in the early days, because Providence, spreading up the streams that fed the Narragansett Bay, sat

squarely astride the main path from the older settlements on Massachusetts Bay to their offshoots which were budding all along the southern coast westward from New London to New Haven. For the most part, bygones soon became bygones that could best be forgotten on both sides. But when the more orthodox Puritan colonies felt that they had better prepare for whatever might befall by uniting in a confederation in 1643, Governor Winthrop explained that Rhode Island had not been invited to join them, "We having no conversation with them, nor desire to have, further than necessity or humanity may require."

This curiously strained relationship between two groups of outwardly very similar English folk needs to be kept in mind in order to understand an episode in the annals of the Cambridge Press which, if actualities were what they seem to have been, was the most important event in its half-century of fluctuating vitality. Starting as a subsidized institution deprived of its sponsor, the Press was kept alive for seven years by irregular revivals as occasions arose that called for its services. Then, probably sometime during 1645, it entered upon a fresh spurt of activity, which developed slowly into a career of rather mild but regular commercial work. The underlying cause for this fresh activity was the recovery of the colony from its economic lethargy.

After 1640 many of those who had come over during the booming 'thirties went back to England, but those settlers who decided to stay where they were, determined to make the best of conditions as they found them rather than abandon all that they had built up for themselves in their new surroundings. During the years from 1641 to 1645 they proved that they could maintain themselves and their families on the food and other supplies raised in the country. The merchants, forced to greater activity and bolder risks, learned that there were ample profits to be had from the coastwise trade with Delaware Bay and the Chesapeake, to the Carolinas and beyond. A few of the more venturesome established family fortunes when they came back from the islands of the West Indies.

The story of what is said to have happened to enable the Press to participate in this revival of prosperity was preserved in Rhode Island gossip, never slow to remember whatever placed Massachusetts under obligations to its smaller neighbor. It was part of the flotsam that caught in the net of an industrious historian of the Baptist denomination, the Reverend Morgan Edwards. He was born in England about 1722 and, becoming a Baptist preacher at the age of sixteen years, removed to

Philadelphia, where he was settled over a congregation from 1761 to 1771. Then, according to his biographer, "a recurring habit of intoxication" led him to travel widely, making addresses wherever he found listeners and everywhere making notes of what was told him regarding the annals of the Baptist communities. These accumulated "Materials" of the Pennsylvania Baptists were printed in 1770; of New Jersey in 1792, three years before he died; and of Delaware in 1885. The Rhode Island Historical Society published its section of the surviving Materials in its *Collections* for 1867.

Edwards preserved a sympathetic account of a colleague of Roger Williams, the Reverend Gregory Dexter. He was reported to have been born in London, where he followed the stationery business in company with one Colman until he was obliged to decamp for having printed a piece that was offensive to the ruling power of the moment. This could have been either Royalist or Parliamentary if 1643 was the year of his withdrawal, as Edwards states, adding that the same year he was received into the Providence church, being both a Baptist and a preacher before his arrival.

Mr. Dexter by all accounts was not only a well-bred man, but remarkably pious. He was never observed to laugh, seldom to smile. So earnest was he in his preaching that he could hardly forbear preaching when he came into a house, or met with a concourse of people out of doors. His religious sentiments were those of the particular Baptists.

About the year 1646 [he] was sent for to Boston, to set in order the printing press there, for which he desired no other reward than that one of their almanacs should be sent him every year.

The above tradition was still in manuscript hiding when Isaiah Thomas, collecting data for his *History of Printing in America* published in 1810, found better evidence than the tippling parson in the accumulated memoranda of a President of Yale whose ear was always tuned to news of Cambridge. Ezra Stiles was Thomas's authority for stating that "after Samuel Green began printing at Cambridge, Dexter went there, annually, for several years, to assist him in printing an Almanac." Both statements are probably true.

The date 1646 fits neatly into the otherwise known facts concerning the Press and the man. The name of Gregory Dexter occurs in the records of the Stationers Company of London as having taken up his freedom of that Company on December 18, 1639. Between 1641 and 1643 his initials and those of an older partner, Richard Oulton, doing

business in their imprints as R. O. and G. D., occur on some seventy publications. The firm was not particularly Baptist, for their output included the writings of the most orthodox Puritan authors. For New Englanders they handled two of John Cotton's tracts, *A Moderate and Clear Answer to Mr. Ball's Discourse* and *The Churches Resurrection*, both printed for Henry Overton in 1642, and the following year for Benjamin Allen, another principal Independent publisher, *Church-Government and church-covenant discussed in an Answer of the Elders of the severall Churches in New England to two and thirty Questions sent over to them by divers Ministers in England*, believed to have been from Richard Mather's pen. Their imprint is on one of John Milton's earliest controversial tracts as well as on the appealing *New Englands First Fruits*. The partners apparently split up in the early summer of 1643, and it was after this that *A Key into the Language of the Natives in that part of America, called New-England*, by Roger Williams, came out with the imprint: "London: Printed by Gregory Dexter. 1643."

Williams landed in Boston on his return in September 1643, "with several families," perhaps with Dexter among them, for he is recorded as an active citizen of Providence from 1644 until he died in 1700. His clerkly skill was put to work without delay, as town clerk, colonial secretary, and official letter writer. Reëlected with few intermissions for many years, after he claimed relief he was drafted for further services when there was occasion for negotiations of especial difficulty. The name occurs in the town and colony records scores of times, but never once with the faintest odor of a pulpit utterance. This man cannot have been the persistent bore whose character was described to Morgan Edwards.

There is an obvious way out of the difficulty, although the evidence that suggests it does not stand critical examination. Two printed records mention a Gregory Dexter in Rhode Island before 1640. This could have been the printer's father, hipped on religion and an uncomfortable neighbor in settled society. Maybe he found refuge in a hermit's life beyond the limits of the land claimed by the town of Providence. This would account for the dearth of mentions of his name in the town records, few of which have been preserved from the earliest years. Maybe he staked his claim up the river near the protruding Limerock, which was where the known Gregory Dexter during a long life accumulated a landed property which grew into one of the impressive Rhode Island fortunes.

In the first volume of the *Rhode Island Records* printed in 1856, there is a footnote containing a list of the earliest settlers which may have been copied later in that century from a list that could have been made up in 1638. It gives the name of Gregory Dexter, but as it was preserved it contained other names of persons who reached Providence after 1644. This document cannot now be found. Another early document printed in the same volume of records preserves "Proposals for a Form of Government" dated 27 V (July) 1640, with Dexter's name as an "arbitrator." The trouble with this is that it is exactly the sort of official position taken by the printer after he arrived, but it is not certain that anybody abided by the Proposals three years after they were drafted. Regardless of records, there can be no doubt that Rhode Islanders preserved for over a hundred years lively recollections of a local character who cannot possibly have been the London printer whose descendants were prominent for the next three centuries.

The easiest guess is that the father of the printer who finished his apprenticeship in 1639, of the same name, was caught by the migratory movement of that decade and fetched up in the wake of Roger Williams. When Williams went to England a few years later the father might have given him a message to the son, who turned their meeting to account by arranging to print the manuscript which the visitor had brought from America. If the father died and the son stepped into his place and property before establishing himself as an independent entity, carrying on without a break in the life of the community, everything is explained with fictional verisimilitude.

It may be merely an accidental coincidence that the first New England almanac which has survived is for the year 1646. The only copy of this is in the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California. With it are those for the years 1647, 1648, and 1650. These four and a fifth for the year 1649 which was separated from its fellows by the chances of a public auction which placed it in the New York Public Library, were preserved because they had been sewn together by the first owner, a clergyman of the town of Reading, a dozen miles north of Boston. The title and next leaf of 1646, which would have been the outside of the packet, have disappeared; the next year's title has the imprint "Printed by Matthew Daye. And are to be solde by Hez. Usher at Boston. 1647." It is possible that Usher's name was put on those copies which he took for sale at Boston, and that other copies without the Boston address were sold to shopkeepers and itinerant chapmen for sale

elsewhere. The unique copies for 1648 and 1649 do not have any name of printer or seller on their titles, which proves nothing. The ALMANAC for 1647 is the only known publication on which Matthew Day's name appears in print; it is likewise the only one extant on which there was a reason for its use, except the other almanacs.

The second recorded output from the Press was an almanac for 1639 or 1640, prepared for the people living on Massachusetts Bay by the best known shipmaster familiar with its weather and tides, Captain William Peirce. It has been assumed by writers and compilers of lists of the work of this Press that other almanacs followed the first one in an unbroken sequence. There can be little doubt that they would have appeared each year under ordinary conditions. The almanac was an established necessity in every community of any size and it supplied the nearest printer with an assured market and a recurring source of profitable income. If the Cambridge Press had been an ordinary commercial venture in the hands of practical craftsmen who were dependent upon its profitable management, the almanac would undoubtedly have been its first regular output. The Cambridge Press does not appear from the available evidence to have been such a venture.

The important reason for believing that no almanacs were printed at Cambridge from 1640 to 1645 is a statement that emanated from Steven Day in 1655/6 when he was asked to provide evidence of the profits derived from the Press by Henry Dunster. He entered at the end of his part of the list "Almanacks and Thesis 5. Rheam paper" with no other data. There is no way of telling how many THESES were printed for each of the five Commencements from 1642 to 1648, when the graduating classes fluctuated from four to seven members. Although each one was on a full sheet of paper, it seems probable that a single ream would have been more than enough for these years. This would provide a hundred copies each year, which should have been ample for the important persons attending the celebration and left enough to send to persons in England whom it was desired to remind of what was going on in the colony. This estimate would leave 2,000 sheets for the almanacs which also took a single sheet for each copy. If an almanac was printed each year from 1639 to 1649, Day's estimate would have provided paper for about two hundred copies each year; five hundred for each of the four years from 1646 to 1649 seems more probable.

☞ The Rhode Island Historical Society quarterly *Collections* for October 1919 contains most of the available documentary data on "Gregory Dexter Master

Printer" compiled by its librarian, Howard M. Chapin. This is supplemented by "A Check List of Books Printed by Gregory Dexter," 71 titles on pages 114-121, from the notes of John H. Edmonds. Isaiah Thomas learned somewhere that Dexter printed an "Almanack for Providence Plantations in New England for 1644," a title that commands confidence.

ALMANAC MAKERS

The surviving copy of the ALMANACK for 1646 lacks three leaves, the first two and the last, which might have contained some hint to justify a guess at the author's name. Those for 1647 and for the two following years have on the title "By Samuel Danforth of Harvard College Philomathemat." If Danforth also prepared the one for 1646, he did this during the third year following his graduation, when he was serving as tutor in the College while awaiting the Master's degree which was awarded on July 28 of that year. Since his father's death in 1638 Danforth had been cared for by Thomas Shepard of the Cambridge church. He remained at the College after receiving his second degree for the three years in which he is known to have prepared the almanacs, until September 1650, when he was installed as colleague to John Eliot at Roxbury. Danforth retained an interest in astronomy, and in 1665 wrote AN ASTRONOMICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE LATE COMET AS IT APPEARED IN NEW-ENGLAND which was printed by Samuel Green. His son John produced the almanac for 1679, and a Samuel Danforth that for 1685, each of these in the compiler's second year after graduation from College.

The probability that the elder Samuel Danforth was responsible for the ALMANACK for 1646 is strengthened by the fact that throughout the remaining years of the Cambridge Press the preparation of its annual almanac was regularly entrusted to a student who was in residence at the College while preparing to take his second degree, a graduate student in modern parlance. The regularity of this practice leaves some doubt whether the compiler in every case possessed especial mathematical ability or astronomical interest. The assignment may have been regarded as a reward for superior academic achievement, with its opportunity to see one's name on a title page. It is equally possible that this was a perquisite awarded to a needy student of ability, who would receive whatever the printer, or the College as the proprietor of the shop, was accustomed to allot for the work of preparation. This would have made it in some way akin to the modern fellowship awards available for gradu-

ate students of demonstrated ability, granted by the college authorities.

The annual publication provided opportunity for the exhibition of more than philomathematical attainments. Few of Danforth's successors, however, equaled him in the capacity for turning out occasional verses suited to the needs of an almanac maker. He was at his best in twelve six-line verses which head the more prosaic figures for the months of 1647:

APRIL

That which hath neither tongue nor wings
This month how merrily it sings:
To see such, out for dead who lay
To cast their winding sheets away?
Friends! would you live? some pills then take
When head and stomach both doe ake.

JUNE

Who dig'd this spring of Gardens here,
Whose mudded streames at last run cleare?
But why should we such water drink?
Give losers what they list to think,
Yet know, one God, one Faith profest
To be New-England interest.

JULY

The wooden Birds are now in sight,
Whose voices roare, whose wings are white,
Whose mawes are fill'd with hose and shooes,
With wine, cloth, sugar, salt and newes,
When they have eas'd their stomacks here
They cry, farewell until next yeare.

AUGUST

Many this month I doe fore-see
Together by the eares(*) will bee:
Indian and English in the field
To one another will not yield.
Some weeks continue will this fray,
Till they be carted all away.

* of corn

NOVEMBER

None of the wisest now will crave
 To know what winter we shall have.
 It shall be milde, let such be told,
 If that it be not over cold.
 Nor over cold shall they it see,
 If very temperate it bee.

JANUARY

Great bridges shall be made alone
 Without ax, timber, earth or stone,
 Of chrystall metall, like to glasse;
 Such wondrous works soon come to passe,
 If you may then have such a way,
 The Ferry-man you need not pay.

The monthly verses for the two following years are longer and fuller of topical allusions, not all of which are recognizable at this distance. They reflect distinctly an increasing unsettledness throughout the colony, and it may also be possible to detect signs of the attitude of the College circle, within which Danforth had grown up, toward public affairs. The academic world of Harvard had already begun to think and act independently toward Massachusetts officialdom. Some of those in the *ALMANACK* for 1648 are even truer in 1945 than they were three hundred years ago.

Awake yee westerne Nymphs, arise and sing:
 And with fresh tunes salute your welcome spring,
 Behold a choyce, a rare and pleasant plant,
 Which nothing but it's parallell doth want. . . .

On this tree's top hangs pleasant LIBERTY
 Not seen in Austria, France, Spain, Italy.
 Some fling their swords at it, their caps some cast
 In Britain 't will not downe, it hangs so fast.
 A loosness (true) it breeds (Galen ne'er saw)
 Alas! the reason is, men eat it raw.
 True Liberty's there ripe, where all confess
 They may do what they will, but wickedness.

PEACE is another fruit; which this tree bears,
 The chiefest garland that this country wears,
 Which over all the house-tops, townes, fields doth spread,
 And stuffes the pillow for each weary head.
 It bloom'd in Europe once, but now 'tis gon:
 And's glad to finde a desart-mansion.
 Thousands to buye it with their blood have sought
 But cannot finde it; we ha't here for nought. . . .

Few think, who only hear, but doe not see,
 That PLENTY groweth much upon this tree.
 That since the mighty COW her crown hath lost,
 In every place shee's made to rule the rost:
 That heaps of Wheat, Pork, Bisket, Beef & Beer,
 Masts, Pipe-staves, Fish should store both farre & neer:
 Which fetch in Wines, Cloth, Sweets & good Tobacc-
 O be contented then, you cannot lack.

When it came time to prepare the ALMANACK for 1650 Danforth may have known that he would be called to the Roxbury church, for this one was by Urian Oakes. He had received his first degree on the preceding July 31, and was to go on to a brief and uneasy tenure of the College presidency. No copies are known of a Cambridge ALMANACK for the years from 1651 to 1655, but there is evidence that these were printed in Samuel Green's statement made in 1655/6, in the entry:

Almanacks & thesis	.5. yeare.
for the Almanacks	13s 4d per anno.
the whole	5 lb.

These figures successfully withstand any attempt to break them down. The five pounds was presumably a round estimate, and it reappears in the column that was added to give Dunster's estimated profit. This would mean that Green claimed that the owner of the Press pocketed £3:6:8 each for five issues of the almanac. It would also imply that as President he paid himself as owner £1:13:4 for the Commencement programs for the years 1650 to 1654, when there were exercises, with distinct THESES, on two successive days in 1653, and the classes of 1652 and 1654 had only one graduate each. Green must have had some exact figures to give him the shillings and pence, but nothing shows what these covered.

There are unique copies of the almanacs for 1656 and 1657, but none

is recorded for 1658. After this year the Cambridge series is unbroken to 1692. For the first of these years the authors modestly placed only their initials on the title pages, but in nearly every case their identity can be established. Their names with the year in which the author graduated from College, for the next two decades, are:

1656	Thomas Shepard	'53 (August 9)
1657	Samuel Bradstreet	'53 (August 10)
1659	Zechariah Brigden	'57
1660	Samuel Cheever	'59
1661	" "	
1662	Nathaniel Chauncy	'61
1663	Israel Chauncy	'61
1664	" "	
1665	Alexander Nowell	'64
1666	Josiah Flynt	'64
1667	Samuel Brackenbury	'64
1668	Joseph Dudley	'65
1669	Joseph Browne	'66
1670	John Richardson	'66
1671	Daniel Russell	'69
1672	Jeremiah Shepard	'69
1673	Nehemiah Hobart	'69
1674	Jeremiah Shepard	'69
1675	John Foster	'67

The ALMANACK for 1674 has "By J. S." on the title, and this has been credited to John Sherman. If it was by him, it was the first by an author who was not a recent Harvard graduate. Shepard, who had done the ALMANACK for 1672, seems more probable. The next year, 1676, John Foster prepared an almanac which he printed over his own name in Boston.

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ELEGIACS

Versification, the outward aspect of poetry, came naturally to many of those whose roots were deep in Tudor England. Some of these migrated to New England and a few of them provided the Cambridge Press with its earliest known job work. This was in the form of a half-sheet printed broadside with an elaborate heading in various sizes of type, with verses honoring a recently deceased worthy, relative, or friend. These would have been most appropriate for distribution at the funeral, when the burial was in or near Boston. A copy could have been placed on the coffin to speed the departed soul on its way, as a sort of character witness at the crystal gates. When the verses were composed at Plymouth or Hartford at other times than midwinter, printed copies would have been late for the funeral. In all cases timely interest called for prompt composition with little time for revision or refinement of the versifying, a detail to be taken into account before animadverting on the poetical qualities of the composure.

A great number of such elegiac broadsides were produced in the Mother Country and scores of those that survived have accumulated in the Harvard Library. The practice of thus honoring deceased worthies crossed the Atlantic with the earliest settlers and at least one was composed shortly before there was any way of printing it. After John Harvard died on September 12, 1638, John Wilson, the pastor of the Boston First Church and a lifelong addict to the elegizing habit, produced a Latin tribute

In Pentissimum, Reverendissimumq; Virum
JOHANNEM HARVARDUM,
e suggesto Sacro Caroloensi ad Coelos Evectum,
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Thomas Hooker, who shepherded his flock out of Cambridge in 1635, died at Hartford in 1647. John Wilson's elder colleague in the pastorate of the Boston church produced verses ON MY REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER, MR. THOMAS HOOKER, LATE PASTOR OF THE CHURCH AT HARTFORD ON CONECTICOT. The last of its eight four-line stanzas read:

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All these in Hookers spirit did remain:
 A Son of Thunder, and a Shower of Rain,
 A pourer forth of Lively Oracles,
 In saving Souls, the sum of Miracles.

Now blessed Hooker, thou art set on high,
 Above the thankless world, and cloudy skie:
 Do thou of all thy labour reap the Crown,
 Whilst we here reap the seed which thou hast sown.

J. C.

The initials are those of John Cotton, whose dominance in the Boston world, as well as the marked divergence between some of his views and those of Hooker, would have made a tribute to his Hartford contemporary especially gracious. These verses would have gone easily on one side of a small broadside. A second elegy on Hooker is headed:

A LAMENTATION FOR THE DEATH OF THAT PRECIOUS AND WORTHY
 MINISTER OF JESUS CHRIST, MR. THOMAS HOOKER, WHO DIED JULY 7.
 1647. AS THE SUN WAS SETTING: THE SAME HOUR OF THE DAY DIED BLESSED
 CALVIN, THAT GLORIOUS LIGHT.

. . . Sweet was the savour which his grace did give,
 It season'd all the place where he did live:
 His Name did as an Ointment give it's smell,
 And all bare witness that it savour'd well.
 Wisdome, Love, Meekness, Friendly Courtesie,
 Each Moral Virtue, with rare Pietie,
 Did all conspire in this one Breast to lye.
 Deep was his Knowledge, Judgement was acute;
 His Doctrine solid, which none could confute.
 To Minde he gave light of intelligence,
 And search'd the corners of the Conscience:
 To Sinners stout, which no Law could bring under,
 To them he was a Son of dreadful Thunder,
 When all strong Oaks of Bashan us'd to quake,
 And fear did Lebanon his Cedars shake;
 The stoutest Hearts he filled full of fears,
 Yet to sad Souls, with sense of Sin cast down,
 He was a Son of Consolation.
 Sweet peace he gave to such as were contrite;
 Their darkness sad he turn'd to joyous light.
 Of Preaching he had learn'd the rightest Art,

To every one dividing his own part.
 Each Ear that heard him said, he spake to me:
 So piercing was his holy Ministrie.
 His Life did shine, Times Changes stain'd it not,
 Envy it self could not there find a spot.
 Had he surviv'd to finish Works begun,
 'T had been a Blessing to all Christendome:

The hundred lines of this elegy maintain the above standard. They could have been put on the two sides of a larger broadside than the other, on paper which the Press had at about this time. The initials at the end are those of Peter Bulkley of Hartford, who might fittingly have been responsible for this tribute.

The reason for thinking that these two as well as other elegies were printed as broadsides is a curious feature of the book in which they are preserved. This is *NEW-ENGLANDS MEMORIAL* by Thomas Morton, the Secretary of the Plymouth colony. The work is a chronological summary of passages that Morton considered worthy of remembrance in his uncle's manuscript history of the New Plymouth settlement by its governor, William Bradford. Morton added brief sketches, each occupying half a page or less, of the more eminent of the divines who died each year. There are some longer ones, when the sketch is extended by the inclusion of elegiac verses.

These verses are ordinarily introduced by a lengthy heading which in form and phrasing suggests those found on the printed broadside elegies of that century, both English and American. Similar headings would, however, have appeared on manuscript compositions of similar character. The belief that those used by Morton came from printed copies is based on the occasional character of the verses, the number of different authors and places where the subjects were interred, the fact that Plymouth was not a place where so many of them would have been likely to accumulate, and uncertainty whether anyone would have collected material of this sort at that time. Persons familiar with the mechanics of authorship will be more likely to suspect that this bookmaker had access to the file kept at the shop where they must have been put into type, and from which his own work was issued in 1669.

Two colonial worthies died in 1649 who rated lengthy tributes from the local muse, John Winthrop and Thomas Shepard of the Cambridge church, but if verses were written in their memory, Morton did not preserve them. He sketched both of them within the limits of a single printed

page. This was also the year in which Matthew Day died and Samuel Green took his place. If there was an interregnum, the workmen who had helped Day with the Law Book of 1648 could have done odd jobs and failed to add copies of their craftsmanship to the office file.

As is ordinarily true of compositions of this character, the New England elegiacs preserved by Thomas Morton contain few topical allusions whose significance is clear to a remote generation, and fewer revelations of actual personality or real achievements. A few quotations will give an idea of the metrical and literary skill of the versifiers.

Writing of John Cotton when he died in 1652, his colleague at the Boston First Church revealed the extent to which the New England Puritans thought of themselves as part of an international rather than a merely English world:

Luther pull'd down the Pope, Calvin the Prelate slue:
Of Calvin's Lapse, chief cure to Cotton's due.
Cotton whose Learning, Temper, Godliness,
The German Phoenix lively did express.
Melancthons all, may Luthers word but pass;
Melancthons all, in our great Cotton was.

Benjamin Woodbridge later contributed another memorial to Cotton in which the choice of commendatory epithets is more carefully discriminating than in any of the other elegies.

Gospel and Law in's Héart had each its Colume
His Head an Index to the Sacred Volume.
His very name a Title Page; and next,
His Life a Commentary on the Text.
O what a Monument of glorious worth,
When in a New Edition he comes forth
Without Errata's, may we think hee'll be,
In Leaves and Covers of Eternitie.

John Norton was Cotton's successor, and in his own day was as highly thought of, although later generations became satiated with the New England superiorities and found other apostles to worship. It is significant that whereas Cotton was matched with the famed German divines, it is the Roman Fathers who are mastered by Norton.

. . . The Schoolmen's Doctors, whomsoe're they call
Subtile, Seraphick, or Angelicall:

Dull Souls! Their Tapers burnt exceeding dim
They might to School again to learn of him.

Lombard must out of date: we now profess
Norton the Master of the Sentences.
Scotus a Dunce to him: Should we compare
Aquinas here, none to be named are.

Of a more heavenly strain his Notions were,
More pure, sublime, Scholastical and cleare
More like the Apostles Paul and John I wist,
Was this our Orthodox Evangelist.

The second Thomas Shepard, who ministered to the church in Charlestown from 1659 to 1677, may have been the author of the verses to Norton. If they were printed first as a broadside, they were not the only nor the longest tribute to him from a Boston colleague. John Wilson's name appears at the end of a Latin and two English poems on the preliminary leaves of

THREE CHOICE AND PROFITABLE SERMONS Upon Severall Texts of Scripture By that Reverend Servant of Christ, Mr. John Norton, Late Teacher of the Church of Christ at Boston in N. E. Cambridge. Printed by S. G. and M. J. for Hezekiah Usher of Boston, 1664.

There are three tributes to Governor Bradford of Plymouth who died in 1657, the first "Verses left by himself," the second by Major Josias Winslow, and a third anonymous, which may imply that the lines were by the Governor's nephew, in whose NEW ENGLANDS MEMORIAL they are preserved. With the heading. †these begin

A few Verses more added by one that was well acquainted with the Worth of the said Mr. William Bradford.

The Ninth of May, about Nine of the Clock,
A precious one God out of Plimouth took:
Governour Bradford then expir'd his breath,
Was call'd away by force of cruel Death.
A man approv'd in Town, in Church, in Court,
Who so behav'd himself in godly sort
For the full space of Thirty seven years,
As he was means of turning many fears
Away from thee, poor Plimouth, where he spent
The better part of time that God him lent.

Well skill'd he was in Regulating Laws,
 So as by Law he could defend the Cause
 Of poor distress'd Plaintiff, when he brought
 His Case before him, and for help besought.
 Above all other men, he loved those
 Who Gospel truths most faithfully uncloze. . . .

When John Wilson went to his reward full of years, it was Jonathan Mitchell of the Cambridge church who summarized his long career:

UPON THE DEATH OF THAT REVEREND, AGED, EVER-HONOURED, AND
 GRACIOUS SERVANT OF CHRIST, MR. JOHN WILSON, PASTOR OF A CHURCH
 IN BOSTON: INTERRED AUGUST 8. 1667

. . . To Truth he ever constant was,
 In Judgement wondrous Orthodox;
 In Truth's Cause never fearing face,
 As if he were another Knox.

The Prelates and their Impositions
 Did never him Conformist make;
 But to avoid those Superstitions,
 Great Worldly Hopes did him forsake.

When in New-England Errours winde
 from sundry other Quarters blew;
 No one could him Conforming finde,
 Nought from the Line of Truth him drew.

Firm stood he 'gainst the Familist,
 And Antinomiam spirit strong,
 He never lov'd the Separ'ist,
 Nor yet the Anabaptists throng.

Neither the Tolerator's strain,
 Nor Quakers Spirit could he brook;
 Nor Bow'd to the Morellian Train,
 Nor Childrens Right did over-look.

Nor did he slight Our Liberties
 In Civil and in Church-concerns,
 But precious were they in his eyes
 Who stood among the'r fixed friends.

Grave Saint in England twice did give
 This farewell word to him; while you
 Shall in that place (New-England) live
 No hurt shall happen thereunto.

If Thomas Morton had the use of a file of elegies printed at Cambridge, he undoubtedly passed over some that were devoted to men and women who were not of the clergy. By some chance it happens that the only two broadsides of this character that have been preserved which must have been printed at the first Press memorialize the laity. The first of these is still another example of the output of Boston's first professional obituarian, headed:

A COPY OF VERSES MADE BY THAT REVEREND MAN OF GOD MR. JOHN WILSON, PASTOR TO THE FIRST CHURCH IN BOSTON; ON THE SUDDEN DEATH OF MR. JOSEPH BRISCO, WHO WAS TRANSLATED FROM EARTH TO HEAVEN. JAN. 1. 1657.

Joseph Brisco

Job cries hopes

There is no Job but cries to God and hopes,
 And God his Ear in Christ; to cries he opes,
 Out of the deeps to him I cry'd and hop'd,
 And unto me his gracious ear is op'd: . . .
 Remember how Job's precious Children Dy'd,
 As also what the Prophet did betyde:
 What was the end of good Josiah's life,
 And how it fared with Ezekiel's wife:
 Remember what a Death it was with Christ
 (Suffered for me) the Darling of the highest; . . .

Jonah

The two recorded copies of this broadside are at the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Henry E. Huntington Library. It was printed on a half-sheet measuring about 11¾ by 7½ inches. The full sheet, about 15 by 12 inches, would have been the size of the paper used for the LAWS AND LIBERTIES of 1648, which the Cambridge shop had available for the supplementary laws issued subsequently, either in stock or from a Boston warehouse.

Ten years later another similar elegy was composed, of which the only surviving copy is still where it ought to be, in the possession of the direct descendant in the male line of the lady who was honored at her death. It was issued

UPON THE DEATH OF THE VIRTUOUS AND RELIGIOUS MRS. LYDIA MINOT,
(THE WIFE OF MR. JOHN MINOT OF DORCHESTER;) THE MOTHER OF
FIVE CHILDREN, WHO DIED IN CHILD-BED OF THE SIXTH; AND TOGETHER
THEREWITH WAS INTERRED JANUARY 27. 1667.

Anagrams. . . .

3 Dai in my Lot

L ight sown is for the Righteous; its full Crop
Y ields Glory's Harvest, Souls fill'd up to th'top.
D ay in my Lot is now, still calm, still bright.
I n leaving your dark World, I left all Night;
A scended where, nor Sun, nor Moon, we crave:

M y God, & th'Lamb's the light that here we have.
I n his Light we see light, and lighten'd stay,
N o light to that of the Everlasting Day!
O pleasant Lines that thus are fall'n to me!
T o make that Day my Lot which aye shall be.

¶ Harold S. Jantz presented a revolutionary communication at the meeting of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts, in October 1943, which saved this section from being the longest in the book. His publication makes it unnecessary again to protest against the continued overlooking of the ample evidence which shows that a considerable number of seventeenth-century New Englanders were in the habit of communicating in passable verse and that they read and wrote poetry as appreciatively and as fluently as English folk of any later flowering.

Professor Jantz has more than doubled the number of known elegies which may have been printed at the time. With these he has introduced fresh complications which must await further investigation before the subject will be ready for secondary exposition.

¶ John Wilson's lines on John Harvard were printed in 1702 in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia* with a typographic setup that is as strongly suggestive of the broadside elegies as any of those in Morton's *MEMORIALI*. When Harvard died, Wilson must have known that a printing outfit was expected soon, and if his tribute was printed while there was a timely interest in it, and it is not easy to imagine such an interest at any later time, it would have been among the earliest productions of the Cambridge Press. Governor Winthrop did not mention it, but he may have intended merely to illustrate what the Press had already accomplished. The Harvard verses are printed in a text "established by Professor Edward Kennard Rand" together with his translation, in S. E. Morison's *The Founding of Harvard College*. The suggestion is there made that the verses were composed about 1654, when the College was in a state of

violent upheaval. Professor Morison's presentation of the output of Harvard poets in the same volume is the first satisfactory recognition of early New England versifying.

Facsimiles of some of the printed elegies are in *American Broadside Verse From Imprints of the 17th & 18th Centuries Selected & Edited, with an Introductory Note*, by Ola Elizabeth Winslow. New Haven, Yale University Press. *Mdccccxxx*.

LOST TREASURE

One reason why it is hard to understand the vicissitudes of the Cambridge Press during the decade when it was in the hands of "one Day" is the abnormally large percentage of its probable output that has survived. During the ten years from 1639 to the spring of 1649, when Matthew Day died, ten or eleven pieces of printing were produced, of which at least twenty-five examples are still extant. Two others were reprinted at London in ways that make it easy to visualize confidently the appearance of the lost originals.

There are seven titles which were printed but which do not now exist. There were perhaps three others that may have been printed. Two of the lost titles were the first issues of the Press, the FREEMAN'S OATH and Captain Peirce's ALMANACK. The appearance of these two and of the SPELLING BOOK is in the realm of pure speculation. The Harvard Commencement THESES of 1642 and 1645, and the QUAESTIONES of 1645 and 1648, are a loss of minor textual and of no typographical importance. There remain three possible publications which call for consideration, which has already been given to the sermons preached by Richard Mather and John Norton in 1644.

One title is not found in Steven Day's list of 1655/6 which ought to be there if it was actually printed. The whole story so far as known is told by a single document filed in the Massachusetts archives. This is not dated, but it relates to action taken after the arrival in Boston of a book printed at London with its title dated 1645. George Thomason's copy of this, in the British Museum, was dated by him, presumably when he acquired it, January 31, 1645.* Doubtless it reached Boston in March or thereabouts. There is no reference to it in the records of the General Court, and no trace of any order for a payment for reprinting it. Maybe

* The Museum's compiler of the printed catalogue of the Thomason Collection placed this manuscript date under the New Style year 1645, but this must be a mistake because the printed date should then have been 1644.

the initial enthusiasm of those who first read the tract subsided after a more careful perusal and a consideration of the obvious desirability, always, of doing nothing to stir up incipient differences of opinion on matters of religious concern. The colony treasurer may also have had something to say about the proposal. Another possibility is that none of the Reverend Elders who were desired to introduce it to the public may have felt that he was competent to do this in view of his previous record as a controversialist in opposition to the Presbyterian brethren. The title of the English tract which some of the Massachusetts authorities thought might well be reprinted was:

Unity our Duty: in twelve considerations humbly presented the godly reverend, and learned brethren of the Presbyterian judgement; and the dissenting, godly, reverend, and learned brethren, commonly called Independent: contending together about Church Government, which tends earnestly to dissuade them from bitter speaking and writing one against another. By. J. P. London, Printed for John Hancock, 1645.

The document in the Massachusetts archives reads:

Whereas by a good providence of God there is come unto o'r hands a book lately printed in England Intitled Unitie our Dutie

It being principallie applyed & presented to the Godly Reverend & Learned brethren of the Presbyterian Judgmt, & the dissentinge Godlie Reuerend & Learned brethren comonly called Independent contending together about Church Gouermt tending earnestlie to disuade them from bitter speaking & writing on' against another. It being a subiect in the generall applicable to most Christian Churches & states & not vnsuteble to o'r present condition. It being also a work penned wth much wisdom & authoritie & power & guided by a spirit of meekness & profitable to all that will make vse of it. This Court being very willing to further the peace & vnities of the people heere amongst vs & to prevent all occasions tending to the breach thereof & finding this short treatise speaking throughlie & fullie to the point & may be ye meanes of blessing to us in God behalfe hath thought it meete to cause the said booke to be printed & sent abroad into all ye ptes of o'r Jurisdiction & whereby all may take notic of Gods will revealed in that Particular.

The Magistrates desire the Concurrence of the Deputys in passing this order, & that this Order psnted be prefixed to the Booke.

Jo: Winthrop: D: Go:

The house of Depts doe concurr wth o'r honord magsts in the passinge of this bill, & doe further desire them to make choyce of one or more of o'r

Reuend Elders whoe are desired to drawe vpp an Epistle in comendacion of ye worke wch we desire may bee likewise printed & prefixt to ye booke.

Rob: Bridges

Voted. Consented heerevnto.

Jo: Winthop. D: Go:

O'r Reuerend Elders are desired to choose out some one amongst themselves who may answere the desires & expectation of the Court.

Increase Nowell Secret.

Jo Wint

DOMESTIC COMPLICATIONS

The later years of Henry Dunster's first decade in the New World should have been the pleasantest of his life since he left the shades of Academe at the other Cambridge. Attendance at the College began to pick up after 1648. Financial worries became less acute. As sometimes happens, however, an easement of monetary anxieties brought troubles of other sorts.

The domestic arrangements within the President's house could easily have been complicated, but there is only speculation to fall back upon. Mr. Dunster may have considered that these were his private affair, for in 1653 he recalled only his difficulties with the student body when he wrote that the students came into commons in one house in September 1642

and with them a third burthen upon my shoulders, to bee their steward, and direct their brewer, baker, buttler, cook, how to proportion their commons.

Under these three works, viz. The education of youth; the building, repairing, and purchasing of suitable housing for us; and the regulating the servants in their work, wages, and accounts; the Lord hath supported us from the beginning; to the end of the year 1652.

In one respect the Lord had been less helpful than he might have been, for the accounts were in such shape that Dunster did not venture to let anybody else try to straighten them out.

There must have been almost as many daily problems demanding attention at his home as in the Hall, but it may be that not all of these required the President's personal consideration. They may have been handled by his helpmate and better half, the mistress of the house. She was a young woman, soon to have a third child of her own to look after, and lacking experience however well she may have been brought up. It would not have been unusual if in such a situation a mother-in-law had added herself to the family to simplify and perhaps to contribute to the

domestic complications. It can be imagined that before the arrival of her daughter's first-born, the child's grandmother came to help in the emergency, taking charge of the kitchen and the mother's apartment, establishing herself competently to the improvement of the culinary output and at the same time providing fresh matters for conversation whenever the stepchildren met their half-sisters Winthrop. A few years later, when Mr. Dunster went out of his way to create a situation which forced his retirement from the presidency, some of the inexplicable aspects of that situation would be easier to account for if it could be assumed that a mother-in-law of Anti-Paedo-Baptist persuasions deeply and controversially rooted, had made herself a dominating factor in the President's daily life.

At this time the President of the College headed a household comprising a dozen curiously assorted individuals. Two of them were his stepchildren, who had a particular interest in the establishment, for its furnishings had come from their father's English rectory. Their invested property may have been drawn on to pay for the house they were living in, when its cost exceeded the amount given to the President for the building. The immediate family was completed by the second Mrs. Dunster and her infant children.

About the time that the President moved his household into the new dwelling in the Harvard Yard, the domestic circle was enlarged to accommodate two young Englishmen who remained as paying guests for the rest of the decade. They had been accustomed at home to the enjoyment of whatever money could provide and now were supported by ample credit, so that it may be assumed that they were not uncomfortable in their new surroundings. Certainly they registered no complaints that have come to our attention. The younger man, William Mildmay, was the grandson of Governor Winthrop's father's sister, and the great-grandson of the founder of Emanuel College at Cambridge. He was enrolled as a member of the Harvard Class of 1647, but instead of lodging with the other students in the College Hall, the President entertained him in his own home, together with the private tutor who was in attendance upon him. It is possible that some of the Boston acquaintances of Sarah and Priscilla Glover, now outgrowing childhood, envied them the opportunities incidental to daily association with the richest boy in College, but their own opinion of the young gentleman has not been preserved. His intellectual attainments seem to have been restricted.

Mildmay's companion, Richard Lyon, relieved the President of re-

sponsibility for his charge's college work. Little is known of the tutor's capacities, and nothing that helps to interpret the meager evidence of the contribution which he made to the history of the Cambridge Press and to the intellectual development of New England. One thing seems clear, that he brought to President Dunster the first opportunity since the latter's arrival in the colony to talk freely and intimately with a person who shared his own academic background, about college affairs in the Old World and the New. Their conversations may have led to what was wellnigh the most important single move in the whole checkered history of Harvard, when the change from a three- to a four-year course of study placed the colonial institution in a position to claim equality with its ancestral universities.

To round out the picture of the home life of this early American college president, he had charge of two native Indian orphan children who undoubtedly were fed in the kitchen and bedded down under the roof that covered the rest of the establishment.

¶ William Mildmay's place in Harvard annals is considered in *An Odd Lot of New England Puritan Personalities*, Portland, Maine, Southworth-Anthoensen Press. 1942.

CHAPTER V

THE REVISED PSALM BOOK

A FIRST EDITION

IN THE summer of 1646 the Massachusetts authorities summoned the clergy and lay delegates of all the churches of this and the other confederated colonies to meet in a synod or convention at Cambridge. Having agreed that there was urgent need of doing something to check a growing tendency to independence among the orthodox congregations of the Independent order, the assembly adjourned to June of the next year, when an "epidemicall disorder" quickly drove them to their homes. Before dispersing, however, they disposed of one minor problem by asking President Dunster to revise the text of the *BAY PSALM BOOK*. There had been dissatisfaction with the version of 1640 on many counts, but one thing particularly stood in the way of unifying the churches. The clergy of the communities dependent on Plymouth and Salem had refused to follow Boston in adopting the new translation for regular use in their services. Most of them clung to the Ainsworth version which the Pilgrims had brought from Holland, finding flaws in the unfamiliar renderings of the new verses. The practical problem that confronted the Synod was to introduce changes which would enable the faultfinders, especially those of the populous northern Massachusetts settlements, to sing in unison with the metropolitan area.

When the task of harmonizing the criticisms of the *BAY PSALM BOOK* was laid on his doorstep, Dunster was fortunate in having a willing helper under his own roof-tree. This was the graduate of Emanuel College, Richard Lyon, who for three years had been a member of the President's household. Cotton Mather before 1700 and Thomas Prince forty years later, each of whom had better means of knowing the facts than any later writers, both stated that Lyon assisted with the revision. Prince was a persistent book collector as well as a local historian, and he must have known that the revised text was printed at Cambridge in 1651, although no copy of that edition is now in his sadly depleted library, for he wrote that "in two or three years they seem to have completed it." The work was, however, in all probability finished much more

quickly. The interrupted session of the Synod in June 1647 was resumed a year later in August, and the revision could have been ready for submission to its sponsors when they reassembled. It cannot have been long after this that Hezekiah Usher secured a copy of the accepted text which he sent to England to be printed. There were the best of reasons for having the work done abroad instead of at the local press. In the autumn of 1648 Matthew Day and his helpers were fully occupied with the Law Book, the completion of which Usher was awaiting as impatiently as were the legislators who had commissioned it. Another reason for sending the Psalm Book to an English printer was that it was customary to have the metrical psalms bound at the end of a Bible, and there were obvious advantages in having them printed at the press which produced the Bible which they were to accompany. Usher corresponded regularly with an English agent who supplied him with current London publications. This agent would have been the natural person to entrust with other bookish commissions. The two of them would have provided the usual channel through which New England authors could arrange for their writings to be printed in England.

Thomas Hooker in 1637, Thomas Shepard in 1640, John Cotton and William Hooke in 1641, John Davenport in 1642, Richard Mather in 1643, Thomas Parker, Nathaniel Rogers, and Thomas Welde in 1644, James Noyes and Nathaniel Ward in 1647, John Allen and Thomas Cobbett in 1648, Anne Bradstreet and Samuel Newman in 1650—and several of these more than once in subsequent years—penned manuscripts in New England which were published with a London imprint. There must have been something better than a haphazard medium of communication and negotiation through which publishing arrangements could be made. The only unusual feature in Usher's commission ordering an edition of the metrical Psalms in 1648 was that it was the first time that the name of a New England publisher was placed on the title of a book printed abroad. The same name had appeared a year and a half before on an almanac printed in Massachusetts, and it was on the Law Book that was being finished at the New England shop when the order for the Psalm Book reached the other Cambridge.

There are three slightly different editions of the NEW ENGLAND PSALMS, as this revision came to be called, each of which has the imprint: "Cambridge, Printed for Hezekiah Usher of Boston." None is dated.

Six copies are recorded of one of these editions, and two each of the

others; six of the ten were found bound at the end of a dated Bible with the imprint of the University Printer at the English Cambridge. Added confusion in the bibliographical treatment of these copies has resulted from the curious occurrence of the same misprint in the imprint of two of them, of different editions, Boston appearing as "Bostoo." There is no apparent reason for thinking that this is anything more significant than an inexplicable coincidence.

More serious and doubtless never-to-be-ended confusion has resulted from the efforts of Wilberforce Eames, the recognized master of American bibliography, to affix dates to these three editions. When he prepared the list of New England Psalm Books for the volume of Sabin's *Dictionary of American Books* printed in 1888, Mr. Eames assigned the date 1682 to one of them because the only copy of it then known, in the Prince Collection at the Boston Public Library, was bound with a Bible of that date. Another copy of the same edition, now in the William G. Mather Collection at the University of Virginia, is likewise bound with a 1682 Bible. This date for that edition has not since been questioned, despite the fact that the imprint states that it was printed for Hezekiah Usher of Boston. There was a business man of that name in Boston at that time, but his name is not otherwise known in connection with book selling. His father, for whom the two other editions had been printed, had relinquished this part of the business to his son John about 1670, and had died in 1676. The recurrence of the name on an edition printed about 1682 is presumably due to an order to reprint an earlier edition, without mentioning any change to be made. This edition has 84 pages.

The other two editions have 106 and 100 pages. It is ordinarily a safe rule in bibliographical procedure to assume, in the absence of other evidence, that when a printer reprints any work, he economizes whenever possible by using less paper. When it is uncertain which of two editions of the same work was the first to be printed, if one has fewer pages than the other, it is assumed to be the later issue. This is a probable explanation for the fact that Mr. Eames in 1888 assigned to the 106-page edition, then known only from a copy bound by itself in the Harris Collection of American Poetry at Brown University, the date 1658. This date is said to have been chosen because Usher is reported to have been in London in that year, and his order to print the Psalms could have been given at that time. The 100-page edition was entered in Sabin's *Dictionary* in 1888 with the date 1665, for reasons that are not known. The dates given in Sabin have been accepted as authoritative, and they will

continue indefinitely to be repeated as this is the only source of general information on the subject, in and out of the book trade.

When William Gwinn Mather of Cleveland, Ohio, engaged Thomas J. Holmes to prepare a definitive bibliography of the writings of the early New England Mather family, they asked Mr. Eames to furnish a reconsidered list of editions of the BAY PSALM BOOK, some thirty years after the publication of the entries in Sabin's *Dictionary*. This new list, brought up to date by Mr. Holmes, is printed in a volume on the works of *The Minor Mathers* issued by the Harvard University Press in 1940. Mr. W. G. Mather's collection of Mather writings is now at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville.

Mr. Mather had secured copies of the 1682 Bible with the 84-page NEW ENGLAND PSALMS bound at the end, and of the 106-page PSALMS bound with an English Bible dated Cambridge 1669. This date, with a cautious "circa," was therefore adopted by Mr. Eames in a manuscript report on the other copy with 106 pages at Brown University, which he sent to the American Antiquarian Society in 1923. In the same report he reassigned the 100-page edition, formerly assigned to 1665, to 1658 to take the place of the copy changed to 1669.

The statement that the revised NEW ENGLAND PSALMS was first printed in 1651 at the New England Cambridge had been made so often and so authoritatively, that no attention was paid to facts carefully recorded by Mr. Eames. The Lenox Collection in the New York Public Library, of which he was the custodian, contained a copy of the 100-page edition bound at the end of a Bible dated 1648, and another copy of the same edition at the American Antiquarian Society contained a note written by Isaiah Thomas stating that he had removed this copy from a Bible dated 1648 which is also in that Society's library. It was not until a third copy attached to a 1648 Bible, now in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, Rhode Island, came to be examined, that the importance of the evidence was acknowledged as establishing the date of the first edition of the revised Psalms through the linking of three copies with copies of the Bible, each of which has a title with the imprint "Printed by Roger Daniel, Printer to the University of Cambridge, 1648."

Further confusion was introduced into the consideration of these dates by another complication that resulted from Mr. Eames's researches. When the Antiquarian Society made it possible for him to compare its 1648 Bible with the one in the Lenox Collection, he made the disconcerting discovery that these were printed from completely different settings of

the type. The type was the same font in both, and the two books were exactly alike in size, make-up, and in every bibliographical detail, but differences appeared in virtually every line on every page that was compared. There is nothing in either copy to supply any trace of a hint to throw light on the unquestioned fact that Roger Daniel printed a cheap edition of a small Bible twice in the year 1648. With nothing to go on, conjectural suggestions are called for. One such starts from the fact that the copies of this Bible at Worcester and at Providence, which are alike, have in all probability been in New England for a long time, while the New York copy was most likely purchased by Mr. Lenox perhaps a century ago in London. It might be that when the English printer received the order from Usher to print the Psalms and to bind a certain number of these with a Bible, he did not have in stock a sufficient number of Bibles of the desired size, although he had printed an edition of this size earlier in the same year 1648. The Bible being a book for which there was then, as ever since, an insatiable demand, there would have been no risk involved in directing the men at his press to go to work forthwith on another, second 1648 edition of the small octavo Bible, rather than take a greater risk of being left without copies in stock of the size for which there was a steady demand. The two similar copies that have the *NEW ENGLAND PSALMS* bound at the end might then be considered as belonging to an edition that was printed primarily for the American trade, while the other would be the ordinary English edition, the two being in fact superficially indistinguishable.

THE WORK OF REVISION

Sir Henry Mildmay's son William may not have been any brighter at table than in the classroom, but his English tutor must have brought with him much of the latest gossip of the English scholarly world to hearten Henry Dunster to cope with his New World anxieties. Together they undertook a congenial task when they were faced with the critical examination of the text of the *BAY PSALM BOOK*. One may wonder whether William Mildmay sat in a corner of the President's study dozing over his assigned lesson while the two scholars conned the ancient Hebrew songs and discussed the changes which they thought could be made in the version printed eight years before. Curiosity is justified, also, as to whether they spoke of the authorship of that translation which they had been enjoined to improve, or speculated on what were likely to be the reactions of the individual whose shortcomings they were expected

to deal with. It may be that they found the earlier version less faulty than its critics had maintained, for the changes they introduced rarely raise serious doubts of its literal correctness, and only occasionally provide a discernible improvement in the cadence or the rhythm. The results amply justify the trouble taken, for the revisers supplied a text which was reprinted in both Englands repeatedly for a century and a third. Until the thoughts of New England worshipers came to be distracted by increasing economic disagreements with their Mother Country, the revised Psalms provided the ordinary outlet for the harmonious expression of their religious feelings.

Cotton Mather leaves no room for doubt that this was the book that Judge Samuel Sewall had in his pocket whenever he set forth to attend public or private worship, always hopeful that he would be asked to set the tune. Only two or three times in the course of his long active life did Sewall find himself without a spare copy in his cupboard, bound in red leather, when he desired to favor a deserving acquaintance. It was in the spring of the year 1685 that Sewall began to enliven the entries of deaths in his diary with memoranda of the singing of psalms. On April 20 of that year King James II was proclaimed in Boston "with thousands of people, a troop of horse, eight foot companyes, drums beating, trumpets sounding." Three weeks later, on May 12, Sewall wrote: "I weary myself in walking from one end of the town to t'other to seek our lost cow." On the following day Cotton Mather was ordained, and on Friday, May 22, Sewall

had a private fast: the Magistrates and their wives here . . . Sung the 79th Psalm from the 8th to the End: distributed some Biskets and Beer, Cider, Wine. The Lord hear in Heaven his dwelling place.

The selection was six four-line verses. Two days later the family "read the 97th Psalm in course," all twelve verses. On Monday, June 1, "The 46th Psalm sung at Mr. Wing's from the 6th verse to the end," six verses. A month later, July 1, was Commencement at the College, and "After Dinner the 3d part of the 103 Psalm was sung in the Hall," verses 17-22. Subsequent entries repeat the evidence that the number of verses that were sung at these public or private services rarely exceeded six.

Mather's account of the revision is in his sketch of President Dunster in the *Magnalia*, following the extract already quoted in connection with the BAY PSALM BOOK:

But afterwards, it was thought, that a little more of Art was to be employed upon them; and for that Cause, they were committed unto Mr. Dunster, who Revised and Refined this Translation; and (with some Assistance from one Mr. Richard Lyon, who being sent over by Sir Henry Mildmay, as an Attendant unto his Son . . . now resided in Mr. Dunster's House) he brought it into the Condition wherein our Churches ever since have used it.

Mather continues with an acknowledgment that the poetry of the translation needed mending, and then quotes the closing paragraph from the Preface of 1640, which is reprinted in Chapter II. His use of this is interesting as showing that he almost certainly had at hand a copy of the original edition. This Preface had been reprinted in the three undated Usher editions, but it is not found in any of those printed in America that have been examined. In its place in the 1651 and subsequent New England editions is a brief address:

To the Godly Reader.

We know that these Psalms, and Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, though in other Languages, (and so consequently in other Poetical Measures) were inspired by the holy Ghost, to holy men of old, for the edification and comfort of the Church and People of God in all ensuing ages to the end of the world. And for these holy ends we have with special care and diligence translated them into such Meters as are most usual and suitable for such holy Poems, in our language, having a special eye both to the gravity of the phrase of Sacred Writ, and sweetness of the Verse. And for fuller satisfaction of the godly desires of all, we have added sundry interpretations, according to the latitude of the significations of the Hebrew Text; commonly noted with an asterism thus (*) and some other various readings, though not so noted.

The changes in the revised text that was printed in or about 1648 and in 1651 defy explanation or analysis. Nevertheless the importance of this version for any understanding of the foundations upon which the New England life and character was built from 1650 to 1770 calls for a better acquaintance with it on the part of those readers who desire to penetrate below the superficial aspects of that life. Some idea of the nature of the changes introduced by the revisers may be gathered from a comparison of the versions of the first and the last three Psalms, the last ones being originally perhaps by another hand. This as well as a selection from other Psalms will be found in the Appendix.

The examples in the Appendix reveal the way in which the revisers of 1648 kept "a special eye both to the gravity of the phrase of Sacred Writ, and sweetness of the Verse." And "for fuller satisfaction of the godly de-

sires of all," they added immediately following the address to the Godly Reader, reprinted above, their "Sundry Interpretations according to the latitude of the significations of the Hebrew Text."

The passages which they selected for these alternative renderings from the ancient to the current tongue may have been chosen for some definite purpose, but if so the animating reason is not apparent either in the original or in the English rendering. There is one characteristic which these variant readings seem to have in common. This is a distinctive academic flavor, reflecting a kind of erudition that is sometimes encountered by those who have to deal with immature scholastics. The phrasing of these passages may embody what remains to the learned world of the conferences in Mr. Dunster's study between the Harvard President and his guest from Emanuel College. They may also justify a suspicion that the younger man, with time on his hands, did more of the work of revision than the President, and that there was a limit to the extent to which he was willing to accept suggestions that might have been offered by his host. There is nothing in Henry Dunster's recognizable writings that remotely resembles the literary style of the revised Psalms. It is inconceivable that his letters and the last sentence of the address to the Godly Reader can have come from the same hand.

The variant readings on these preliminary pages of the earliest editions reappeared in every subsequent edition for a hundred and fifteen years. Not once were the improvements therein proposed transferred to the text in the body of the Psalms. They demand serious examination because, even more than the changes in phrasing the revised text, it can be claimed that these represent President Dunster's textual and linguistic studies and attainments. In order that their significance may be more easily comprehended, the parallel texts of the passages to which they refer are printed in Appendix B from the 1640 and the 1648(?) editions, as in Appendix A. Below these is the emendation from the preliminary leaves, headed *Dunster-Lyon*.

The preliminary page of Dunster-Lyon variant readings is followed (in Appendix C) by a selection of longer poems suitable for congregational recitative. These make this the first American church hymnal, and the analysis of their literary and devotional significance must be referred to the consideration of students of hymnology.

Without questioning Mr. Dunster's editorial responsibility for this portion of the publication, a perusal of these verses strengthens an opinion that their authorship should be ascribed to Richard Lyon.

THE 1651 EDITION

All of the seventeenth-century editions that survive of the New England translation of the Psalms, after 1640, were small, cheap issues. The earliest of these is dated 1647 and is the only one that follows the original edition. It is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches tall and has 274 pages. The two undated Usher editions with 100 and 106 pages are 5 inches tall; the other one cut down the number of pages to 84 by adding a half-inch to the height. Others printed in England are of about this size. The earliest American edition that is known, after that of 1651, is the eighth, Boston 1695, with 384 pages about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches tall. The edition printed at Cambridge in 1651 is smaller than any of the others, its 384 pages being a fraction over $3\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches. It was imposed as a sixteenmo, the pages so arranged that the sheet could be cut in two for binding folded as eights. On the press there were sixteen pages on each side of a sheet about the size of that used for the *BAY PSALM BOOK* of 1640.

The data which Samuel Green contributed to the list of 1655/6 concerning the *NEW ENGLAND PSALMS* of 1651 is much the most interesting, and perplexing, of his part in that document. It reads:

the psalm Booke: 2000 bookes 12 sheets		
at .12d. a booke to mr Usher. & .15d. the other 1000		
to Mr Whaley Lion & Brooke		112:10:00
	abate for printing	40.00.00
	for paper	30.00.00
Rest	42.10.00	42.10.00
but ye prenter sayth he gott .50 lb. by ye		
psalms, besides the bookes he gave away.		

The only figure herein which does not ask for an explanation which is not forthcoming is the wholesale price paid by Usher, who would naturally have had an advantage as the commercial mainstay of the printery. At this price he could have sold the book in Boston at two shillings a copy. There is no clue to the identity of Messrs. Whaley Lion & Brooke. Richard Lyon can hardly have been one of them. They could have been shopkeepers at Salem, New Haven, or other colonial trading centers from which itinerant peddlers were already beginning to lay out routes that stretched to the outer fringes of the settled country and which developed into the tin peddler business of two centuries later, becoming a mainstay of rural life in New England.

Green appears to have known how to make printing cost more, and to have taken to himself all it would yield. Day did the Psalm Book of 1640 for a pound a sheet, and in 1648 he was paid £15:16:03 for the work on the seventeen sheets of the Law Book. Green charged five pounds for printing five sheets of the Supplementary Laws of 1654. In each of these cases the larger share of the work seems to have been the presswork. When Green made his first statement of the cost of the 1651 Psalms, he reckoned the twelve sheets at £3:04:00 a sheet. Each of these sheets had thirty-two pages in the smallest type, and each contained about three times as much text which had to be put in type as a sheet of the 1640 edition. This might explain why the charge per sheet was more than three times higher. While the 1655/6 list was being made up, and before going on to the next item, something led Green to correct his statement and to acknowledge that he got 25% more for this job than he had said at first, "besides the books he gave away." He did not explain where the extra ten pounds came from, and it was not deducted from the profit that had been calculated as received by Dunster. Two thousand copies of a twelve-sheet book could have been printed the way other books on the list were calculated, with fifty reams of paper. Day had allowed five shillings a ream for the paper brought over by Mr. Glover in 1638; Green's figure of £30 for paper reckons fifty reams at twelve and a half shillings each. The net result was that the profit allotted to the owner on this job was only 38% of the gross receipts, instead of about 50% as in the earlier transactions. It is probable that there were some items that were overlooked in all of these financial statements. The fact that Dunster was the responsible author of the revision may have had some influence on Green's bookkeeping. It is equally likely that the fact that Richard Lyon was employed by a wealthy man, with an expense account which was settled from overseas, may have had its effect.

It is likewise possible that modern criticism may have been influenced by the fact that the unique recorded copy of this book is the most attractive piece of book making that is credited to the Cambridge Press. It is dainty in its typography, on paper of a superior quality fresh and unsoiled, and its binding is the most charming that has come down from colonial New England. The binding kept this copy from being used and it is not certain that another copy, were one to come to light, would be found equally praiseworthy. It is such an admirable example of the craftsman's skill that competent critics have agreed that it cannot be as old as the date on the book inside. It has been assumed, almost certainly

correctly, that it must be New England workmanship, and that there cannot have been a binder in the colony in 1651 who could have executed it. It has therefore been assigned to John Ratcliffe, who arrived at Boston in 1661 to work on the Indian Bible and who can be proven to have executed other bindings of comparable excellence to the one on the little Psalm Book. Ratcliffe could undoubtedly have done that binding, but this is not saying that it could not have been done by John Sanders who was in Boston in 1636 and was still there when this Psalm Book was printed, if he had been encouraged to do it in the right way by the right sort of a patron.

The binding on the 1651 Psalms was described by Thomas J. Holmes in 1928:

The book is bound in polished brown sheepskin, decorated on both sides with a border of a single line in gold and two inner lines in blank. At the center there is a small conventionalized fleuron in gold, on either side of which there is stamped in gold the initials F. B. At the foreedge there are two brass clasps hinged with leather and lined with vellum. Each clasp is riveted on the hinge with a tiny iron rivet, having a tiny square brass burr on the inside of the clasp. The hinges are riveted to the board with one brass rivet through the board at each hinge. The counterpart of each clasp consists of a tiny iron bar held at either end with a fold of sheet brass which is inserted into the edge of the back board and riveted through.

The book is in eight leaves to the section, and is sewn two sections with one thread upon two sawn-in sunken bands of cord. The boards are built up of paper and the cords are laced into the boards. No headbands were ever made on this book. The book is slightly rounded at the back but the foreedge is cut square. The edges were sprinkled with brown pigment. The squares of the boards are uneven, and the edges of the boards are not decorated in any manner. The workmanship was crude.

☞ The above quotation is from a paper by Thomas J. Holmes, sometime of the Club Bindery and librarian of the William Gwinn Mather Collection at Cleveland, Ohio, on "The Bookbindings of John Ratcliff and Edmund Ranger, Seventeenth Century Boston Bookbinders" in the *Proceedings* for April 1928 of the American Antiquarian Society. The binding is satisfactorily illustrated in William Loring Andrews' *Bibliopegy in the United States*, New York 1902. See also the *Catalogue of Ornamental Leather Bookbindings Executed in America prior to 1850*, exhibited at the Grolier Club in New York in November 1907.

CHAPTER VI

LAWS FOR CHURCH AND STATE

THE FIRST CODIFICATION

THE talk in 1646 of reprinting the tract by J. P. on unity with the Presbyterians, even if nothing came of it, shows that the magistrates were worried over the necessity of combating disaffection and differences of opinion among the settlers. By 1645 the frontiers had been pushed back to the Connecticut and the Merrimack river valleys, and had linked the squatter outposts along the coast toward the northeast. In all directions there were isolated communities which were developing a tendency which was to give the authorities concern during the next two centuries. Some of the early immigrants had brought with them the germs of a spontaneous combustion that repeatedly flared up in a blaze of strange unaccountable notions regarding the meaning and interpretation of biblical texts and the consequences of the application of these ideas to human behavior. Jehovah's Witnesses in the 1940s are merely reproducing a situation that worried John Winthrop in 1648.

The differences in religious opinions would not have mattered if there had not been a more fundamental change in the composition of the community. The men who had taken upon themselves the direction of the Massachusetts Bay Company in 1628 continued to manage the colony, in all probability without recognizing all the changes that were taking place. In 1630 they represented to everyone's satisfaction the membership, or freemen, of the Company. New freemen, members with voting rights, were admitted whose religious acceptability was the qualification that was stressed, but whose availability was affected by their social and economic standing in the communities in which they had found a home. Before 1645, the number of these new freemen who had made themselves economically independent and communally influential had increased to an extent that made them the deciding element in the electorate. They were conscious of their ability to control the government under the provisions of the charter. These men recognized that the small group whose members had occupied most of the offices from the beginning were on the whole both able and disinterested. The majority did not want

to change the government, but there was a growing desire to make sure that the rulers understood where their authority came from. This desire took the form of a demand that the legislators tell their constituents what constituted the laws and ordinances that influenced the life of the citizenry. Some of these laws had been voted by the General Court, while others had become a part of the accepted regulations of the new communities because they had been customary in the Mother Country. This desire led in 1645 to the designation of

Several persons out of each county . . . to drawe up a body of lawes, & present them to the consideration of the Generall Courte, at their next sitting.

A succession of deputies, mostly from the outlying towns, expressed opinions on the subject and were made members of committees and sub-committees, with Richard Bellingham who represented Ipswich serving on all of them to make sure that some progress was made. The actual work of codification was put on Joseph Hills of Charlestown, and when it was over and a printed volume formally published, Hills was voted a gratuity of £10. Four years later he reverted to the value of his services in a petition which reminded the Court of the steps by which the laws had reached the goal. As it brought him another £10, his statements are probably reasonably correct:

Inasmuch as it hath pleased the General Court to engage me in sundry great and weighty services in reference to all the generall laws here established, now in print . . . First it pleased the General Court to employ me in a shire Committee to draw up a Body of Laws in which I took unwearied pains, perusing all the Statute Laws of England in Pulton at Large, out of which I took all such as I conceived sutable to the condition of this Commonwealth; which with such others as, in my observation, experiences and serious studies I thought needful, all which I drew up in a Book, close written, consisting of 24 pages of paper, in folio . . . which Book by some means got lost and could not be found . . . whereupon Mr Bellingham spake to me to help them to another coppie . . . I did forthwith again transcribe, although it was in harvest time.

2 It pleased the General Court again to engage me in the perusing of all the laws in the Books of Records, to Consider, Compare, Compose, and Transcribe all laws of publike concernment, coppiewise, all which I drew up . . . in five Books or Rowls . . .

3 Thereupon I was Ordered . . . to Transcribe the five Books aforesaid with other new laws, all which . . . I, with great care and vigilancie, performed, and frequented the press, and otherwise took care to Examine them during the Imprinting the same. . . .

Entries in the records show that Hills did not work unaided or uninterrupted. On November 11, 1647, there is a reference to "the laws now being in a manner agreed upon," which suggests that the members of the Court realized that it was not in the nature of things to expect to satisfy everybody. In the following March the reference is to "amendments of the bookes of lawes passed" and then to "the speedy committing of them to the presse." On May 10 there were worries lest "any question should arise about the copy now at the press," whereupon the auditor and Mr. Hills were directed "to examine the laws now at the press and to see if any material law be not put in or mentioned in the table as being of force and to make supply of them," which is the perennial difficulty caused by leaving in references to things that had been taken out. The work of printing had already started, for three days later the first finished sheet of the printed volume was in the hands of the deputies for their examination and criticism. They then

Ordered, that in the book of laws, title Appeals, in the last line save one, (just) to be entered next before *charges*; and the Auditor to see it entered in every book.

This correction, which protected a defendant who lost his case from unjust charges of court costs, was not made in the only copy of the printed volume that is known to have survived. It may mean that Mr. Auditor-General was derelict in his duty in this instance, but inasmuch as this copy is incomplete, lacking the final sheet, it may have been sent to England, where it was found, by a ship that sailed before the Press delivered the completed work.

When the Court met in October 1648 the end was in sight. On the eighteenth of that month detailed provision was made for the more methodical keeping of records in the future, in "large paper books in folio, bound up with vellum and pasteboard," and further:

That all Laws, Orders and Acts of Court, contained in the old books, that are of force and not ordered to be printed, be transcribed in some alphabeticall or methodicall way . . .

Before adjourning this session on October 27:

It is ordered by the full Court, that the books of Laws, now at the press, may be sold in quires, at three shillings the book; provided that every member of this Court shall have one without price, and the Auditor-general and Mr Joseph Hill; for which there shall be fifty in all taken up, to be disposed of by the appointment of this Court.

The legislators ordered the laws to be printed and they provided that all but fifty copies could be sold, unbound, at a price fixed by them. They did not provide for payment to the owner of the Press or to the printer. Other statements regarding the business arrangements were supplied by Steven Day for the list of 1655/6 but these leave some important details uncertain. The pertinent entry reads:

The Law Booke.	17: sheets	600	Collated
sould at 17d a booke			42:10:00
to abate for printing			<u>15-16-03</u>
			26:13:00
spent 21. Rheam of			
papr.	05 lb.05:00		<u>05:05:00</u>
			21:08:09

These precise figures look as if they might have been taken from the actual accounts, and the sum allowed for the printing is likely to have been what Matthew Day charged for the work done. It is a little under a pound a sheet, which was a standard rate according to other entries in the list. The figures for paper and sales could have been obtained by calculation, as elsewhere in the list. Six hundred copies of a seventeen-sheet book would have required 10,200 sheets of paper, and twenty-one reams would have left a margin of 300 sheets for wastage and overrun, or less than nine apiece for the 34 runs on the press. The Law Book was printed on paper measuring about 15 by 11½ inches, which is larger than that used for previous issues from the Press, but it is charged at the same rate, five shillings a ream, as the other paper which came from the stock brought over by Mr. Glover in 1638. The Court established a retail price of thirty-six pence a copy, and the list is likely to be correct in stating that the wholesale rate was a penny less than half the retail price. It is not so certain that the Press received 600 times 17 pence, as the list claims. If the printer knew when the presswork started that he would have to supply fifty free copies, it would have been a simple matter to provide an overrun of this number. But the order for these gratis copies was not recorded until October, when the printing was nearly finished. An overrun of fifty copies would have required two more reams of paper. If these copies came out of the edition there were only 550 for sale, and as Usher had only part of these there could have been no reason why he or anybody else should be expected to pay for those that had to be given away. The retail price was fixed in October, when the printer

would have been able to tell about what his bill would amount to, but the arrangement with Usher must have been made six months earlier, for his name is on the title which was printed on the first sheet which was in the hands of members of the General Court in May. This title reads:

THE BOOK OF THE GENERAL LAUUES AND LIBERTYES concerning the inhabitants of the Massachusets Collected out of the Records of the General Court for the several years wherin they were made and established, And now revised by the same Court and disposed into an Alphabetical order and published by the same Authoritie in the General Court held at Boston the fourteenth of the first month Anno 1647. . . . Romanes 13.2.

Cambridge. Printed according to order of the General Court. 1648.

And are to be solde at the shop of Hezekiah Usher in Boston

The imprint is in two separate panels, an arrangement which sometimes means that the bookseller's name was printed on the copies ordered by him and did not appear on others of the same edition. When as in this case only one copy is known, this can only be a matter for speculation. The almanacs from the Press at this time present the same uncertainty, for those for the years 1647, 1648, and 1649 are known only from single copies. The first of these has Usher's name as well as Matthew Day's while the other two have neither.

The printing had not been completed when the Court adjourned late in October so that the codification could not be officially promulgated by public proclamation until the members reassembled in May 1649. This led to a long-standing error in regard to the date of the original title. A second codification was issued in 1660 and its printed title stated correctly that the earlier one was "published in the General Court holden in Boston in May, 1649." This date was therefore assumed to be that of the original by both of the brilliant investigators who definitely established the contents of the 1648 volume long before the discovery in 1906 of the copy now known.

The immediate, and inevitable, result of distributing the LAWS AND LIBERTYES was to bring out the faults both in the printing and in the selection of the portion of current legislation which had been made available to the public. Even before the printing was completed, the need of a supplementary publication was realized and the Court ordered that this should include "those laws referred to in the end of the printed laws with a suitable table." There is nothing in the surviving imperfect copy answering to this reference to the end of the volume, which that

copy lacks. The codification of 1648 is arranged alphabetically and the compilers may have thought that this made an index table unnecessary, but the members of the Court quickly realized that many subjects went by different names. Apparently there was a note at the end of the volume referring to laws omitted by the compilers.

Not all of the copies of the 1648 Law Book that were for sale were to be had at Usher's shop. The treasurer of the colony, Richard Russell, presented the following petition on May 22, 1651:

To ye Honored General Court, consisting of Magistrates & Deputies.

Humbly sheweth Whereas By ye Courts Incoradgment I purchased ye Last printed Law Bookes, and by reason of ye Courts Alteration of summe things in those bookes made them unvendible Insomuch that your petitioner Lost above Tenn pounds, a great part of them turned to wast papr and many of them Burnt, your Petitioner desires this Court would Tenderly Consider ye same And accordingly releve your petitioner heerin, soe hee shall thankfully remayne
your servant Richard Russell

The Court was in a tender mood, for it voted:

In answer to the petition of Mr. Richard Russell for his allowance in the late law books, which was occasioned by the Court's alteration of some things therein etc, it is ordered, that in consideration of those losses mentioned in the petition and other that he hath lately sustained, he shall have allowed him twenty pounds out of the next rate.

The amount claimed as lost, over £10, would have paid for about a quarter of the edition of 600 copies at 1s.5d. each. Russell presumably bought these on his private account as a shop-keeping rival of Usher. There may have been a fire in his warehouse which destroyed his printed sheets so that they had to be thrown out as waste paper. The loss may have had its compensations in view of the complaints of possible purchasers that the legislators had made so many changes that the printed work was unreliable. Nevertheless it continued to be cited in legal actions, and if the evidence in the second codification of 1660 had failed, the approximate contents of the 1648 volume could have been established from the citations from it in the records remaining in the county court files.

The General Court began tinkering with the 1648 LAWS AND LIBERTIES in May 1649, when "the printed law concerning Dowries . . . appears not so convenient as was formerly conceived." In October following, the printed law for Elections was repealed, and the next May the law concerning Fencing for Great Cattle had to be explained, as well

as that entitled Military Affairs. A new law "for multiplying prophane oaths" was passed on June 19, and two days later the laws of 1646 and 1647 were amended to prohibit bowling or any other play or game in public houses under the same penalties "provided for the aforesaid game of shovel-board." In October 1650 "the former law, title Women, is hereby repealed." This was the limit, and three days later the Court:

appointed a committee to take order for the printing of laws agreed upon to be printed, to determine of all things in reference thereunto, agreeing with the president for the printing of them with all expedition.

☞ The care with which the people of Massachusetts documented every move in their early annals emphasizes the strangeness of the fact that no copy of its first code of laws has ever been found anywhere in New England. For over a century its former existence was proved by manifold records, but no copy could be examined. It came to light bound with unrelated material in a folio tract volume in the library of the mayor of Rye in England. That library was sold in 1906, and the first Massachusetts Laws stepped up through the book trade into the collection of Edward Dwight Church of New York which became a part of the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino in California. A type facsimile edited by Max Farrand of that library was issued on its behalf by the Harvard University Press in 1929. A misplaced note led the editor to confuse the progress of the original publication.

☞ Long before the original reappeared, Francis C. Gray contributed to the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1843 an analysis of the contemporary records which established the fact of its former existence and the scope of its contents. This evidence was reexamined in 1890 by William H. Whitmore for *A Bibliographical Sketch of the Laws of Massachusetts Colony from 1630 to 1686*. The completeness and accuracy of Whitmore's deductions were confirmed when the original came to light fifteen years later. So far as that volume is concerned, Whitmore's *Sketch* is valuable now as a masterly exposition of bibliographical method applied to an historical investigation under ideal conditions for testing its usefulness. The proof of his reliability has a further value because he carried his investigations on to three supplementary publications of almost equal importance which are now not known to exist. The account of these herein follows Whitmore's *Sketch*.

CHANGE OF MANAGEMENT

Matthew Day, with the Law Book off his mind, had plenty to keep him busy in looking after the housekeeping of the collegers who had been in his care for several years as College steward. He may not have been feeling well, with premonitions that something was the matter with

him, for he died a few months later. His nuncupative will shows that he had counted upon money from working the Press to pay for a house he was buying, and that this was in arrears. It gives a pleasant glimpse of the family and College circle:

1. I doe give with all my heart all that part I have in the Garden unto the fellowes of Harvard College forever.
2. I doe give to Mrs. Shepard my diaper table cloath and napkins which were not yet made up.
3. I doe give my 3 silver spoones, the one to David Dunster, the other to Doraty Dunster, and the 3d that hath my owne name on it, which I brought out of England, to my old acquaintance little Samuel Shepard.
4. I doe give to my mother all the estate I have in both the houses together with all the furniture beds and all moveables (my debts being first paid) to her for her life, and when she dies to the little child Moyses.
5. I doe give to Sr Brooke (my ould and deare friend) all the bookes I have which he thinkes may be useful to him, except those which may serve for the training up of the childe to schoole.
6. I doe give unto my mother that eight pound or thereabout which is due to me for printing, to pay for the house which is due at Michaelmas.
7. I would have Daniell and Mary Lemon and my mothers girle have something given them as Mr. Shepard and my mother shall see meet.
8. I doe give my Ivory Inkehorne in my box with a whistle in it unto Jeremy Shepard.
9. I give 20s in mony which once I had and layd out for the Colledge and is to be paid by it in mony againe unto Mr. Thomas Shepard.
10. I doe give unto John Glover my lookeing glasse.
11. I give to Elder Frost foure pound.

Those before whome he spake these things were Mr. Tho. Shepard. Mrs. Day.
Increase Nowell

Deposed the 30th 8th mo 1649

Matthew Day died on May 10, 1649, but it was six months later, the end of October, before the formality of recording the disposition of his property was complied with. During the summer the Commencement programs had been printed, very likely by the men who had worked at printing the Law Book. These same journeymen may also have done some job printing, for the first hints of such work are discernible in 1647 and 1648, as explained in the section on Elegiacs in Chapter iv. In October the Press was in charge of Samuel Green, who wrote in 1675 to the second John Winthrop, who knew as much about this matter as anybody, that printing was

the employment I was called unto when there was none in the country to carry it along after the death of him that was brought ovr for that work by Mr Jose Glover, and although I was not before used unto it yett being urged thereunto by one and another of place did what by my own endeavours and help that I gott from some others that was procured, I undertook the work.

On October 19 the General Court called for the printing of five hundred copies of a PLATFORM OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE that had been agreed upon by a majority of the members of a synod which had been arguing over its terms since 1646. Widespread public interest would have urged speedy publication. The tract that resulted supports the statement that it was produced by someone who "was not before used unto" bookmaking. The eight copies that survive have two variant imprints, and the hint that seems to establish the priority of one of these rests upon another illustration of typographical ineptness. In the copy at the John Carter Brown Library and another, the only one in a private library, the imprint reads:

Printed by S G at Cambridge in New England and are to be sold at Cambridge and Boston Anno Dom: 1649

Presumably after the printing of the first sheet (the last to go to press) began, somebody called attention to the fact that imprints ordinarily begin with the name of the place rather than of the printer, for in the other copies "by S G" is moved so that the first line of the imprint reads:

Printed at Cambridge by S G in New England

The change is so doubtful an improvement that this form of the imprint ordinarily has been chosen as presumably the earlier form. The actual order of the two seems to be shown by a misprint on the ninth text page, on the leaf marked erratically "A45," which can be interpreted to mean sixth, the leaf that is joined to that of the title whether the half-sheet of this fold was folded outside or inside the other four leaves. In the second line of this ninth page the typesetter contributed "c̄ntrilute," which appears in the two copies "Printed by S G." This must have been too much even for the alert imagination of that active-minded age, for the printer substituted for the other surviving copies, an *o* for the first *r*, without troubling to change the *l*, whose ascender was doubtless sufficient to lead eyes untrained in alphabetic niceties to supply the bulge at the bottom.

There is a further sign of unfamiliarity with bookmaking practice in

the signature marks which appear at the bottom of each right-hand page, instead of only on the two or three where the binder's folder needed them. The first of the four sheets required for the text of the Platform is marked A, Aa, Aaa, Aaaa, and the B, C, and D sheets similarly have the corresponding letters instead of a letter and figure on the first three leaves. Preceding these four sheets is the title and a ten-page introduction on a fold of six leaves, a sheet and a half, the leaves following the title marked, Aa, Aaa, Aaa, Aaaa, Aa5. The watermarks in the copies examined after interest was awakened in this feature of the tract link the first and sixth leaves of this fold and the two in the middle each marked Aaa. Opinions differ whether a make-up man with or without experience would be most likely to put the title or the inside four pages on a half-sheet, and with other evidence showing that the printer of this tract was unfamiliar with routine practice, it is futile to guess.

The prefatory introduction and the text of the Platform each begins with a factotum block, of four and five lines of type, and in both cases the block is taller than the lines of text type with which it is used, no effort being made to adjust the uneven space. Another factotum block with the center opening empty was used as a tailpiece in the space at the foot of the last page of the preface, facing the first page of the Platform. There are three Greek words in the preface, in type larger than that of the English text, so that the space above this line is extra wide, but if this is the only Greek type that the printer could find he is not to be blamed for this. There had been smaller Greek in the shop.

There is a list of nine errata on the last leaf of the tract, for the 29 pages of the Platform, which would not be a serious proportion for any compositor on a similar job, and none of these are reprehensible. They show that care was taken to provide an accurate text of this vitally important document. Some of these errors were apparently noticed and corrected before the presswork was completed, for the heading reads: "The faults escaped in some of the bookes thus amended." None of them are altered in the copies examined. The most serious error was the omission of a *not* which reversed a statement whose intent was obvious from the rest of the sentence. The *y* was left off the end of *they* in a crowded line; "Acts 19.8" should have been "19.18"; "to be be" is not misleading; nor "one Church to another"; or "their" for "there." Two later-day collaborators in this research were misled by a common abbreviation of that time not now in use and missed the error in "cöviuced" which the errata changes to "convinced." The amended errors were per-

haps on the outer form of sheet C, where the trouble with "Philip" is that it is in roman instead of italic type, and the only fault with "admission" is a broken letter which a meticulous reader may have wished to have changed. No printed attention was paid to the misprints in the Preface, one of which was partially amended, as already explained. Two others are more annoying than any in the Platform, "withersoever" and "reaedy."

The initials in the imprint of the PLATFORM are those of Samuel Green, who continued to have charge of the Press until it ceased to operate in 1692. When he became responsible for its management it was located under the roof of its owner, the house occupied by the Dunster family in the College Yard. There is nothing to suggest that there had been any change since the colony treasurer eight years before this paid Dunster for printing the CAPITALL LAWES, carefully separating the money for printing from that due to the College. As the years passed and the shop moved with the family to the College grounds, the printery may have come to be regarded commonly as a part of the College. The General Court twice after 1650 directed that arrangements for printing were to be made with the President, leaving it uncertain whether Dunster was thought of in his private or official capacity.

The relationship between Matthew Day and Henry Dunster developed during a decade of increasingly intimate associations without ever being formally regularized. It would not be surprising if Green hesitated when he was asked to take charge of a business that he knew nothing about, and that his doubts were overcome by a more advantageous arrangement than any that Day had enjoyed. In later years Green talked as if he had done the actual work of printing after Matthew Day died, but it is hard to take this literally. The probability seems to be that some of the men who were influential in the affairs of the colony were worried over the disaffection which was developing in the communities, and felt that it would be wise to have the printing shop under the control of a person who would be sure to prevent anything getting into circulation through inadvertence which might have a subversive tendency. They knew that the owner of the Press, the President of the College, could not be depended on to remain faithfully within the bounds of strict orthodoxy.

The choice of Samuel Green for such a post was admirable from such a point of view. He is described by Professor Samuel Eliot Morison in his *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* as "popular, versatile, faithful and energetic." He was the sort of person who could be relied on

by those in authority, and he was rewarded when a remunerative position was to be filled—sergeant in the militia, doorkeeper of the House of Deputies, college barber, and stationer when not occupied elsewhere. He directed the printing shop for its remaining forty-three years.

There is a suggestion of some change in the arrangements concerning the Press in the entry of the cost of "The Synod Book" in the memorandum of its estimated profits prepared in 1655/6.

he [i.e. Dunster] had of Bro: Green finding papr for ye impression	12:00:00
abate for paper. 6 Rheame ¼	02:05:00
	09:15:00

This would seem to mean that Green paid Dunster the owner's share of the amount received from the customer, the treasurer of the colony, or from the sale of copies to Boston or Cambridge shops, and that Dunster supplied the paper out of the supply brought over by Glover in 1638, the value of which was deducted to give his net profit. The given amount of paper, 3,125 sheets, would have been ample for an edition of 500 copies of the PLATFORM which took 5½ sheets each, with a liberal allowance for overrun and waste. There was no occasion for Green to state the amount he retained to pay for composition and presswork.

Matthew Day's will was printed in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for February 1861. The little child Moyses was the son of Mrs. Day's son William Bordman, who had married soon after coming to America, as the child is said to have been about nine years old at this time. Matthew's old acquaintance little Samuel Shepard was of about the same age, as he graduated from Harvard in 1658. Jeremy who got the ivory whistle did not get through college until 1669, so that he may have turned out to be a backward scion of a prominent family.

PLATFORM OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE

The Synod that was called together in 1646 debated and reassembled for three years before its members became convinced that the partisans supporting two opposed points of view, equally anxious to bring the church bodies of the colony together in doctrinal agreement, were irreconcilable. A minority which included the ablest men in the community, in closest touch with the authorities as well as with the populace as a whole, argued stubbornly for a compromise that would conciliate the portentously large number of solid citizens who could not honestly say that they subscribed to all the articles of belief which had been the platform

on which the Independent worshipers stood solidly in 1630. The large majority would have nothing but the literal professions of their spiritual fathers. They were deaf to every suggestion of changing times or circumstances. When all concerned were convinced that no good would come from further talk, the result of their balloting was adopted as the expression of the faith and guide to practice of the New England churches, and the Synod adjourned. On October 19, 1649 the General Court voted that:

Whereas a booke hath been Presented to the Courte, intituled a Platforme of Church Discipline, gathered out of the Word of God, &c. being the result of what the Synod did in their assembly in the year 1647 at Cambridge for their consideration and acceptance, the Court judgeth meete to commend it to the judicious and pious consideration of the severall Churches within this jurisdiction, desiring a retourne from them at the next Generall Courte how far it is suitable to their judgments and approbacion, before the Courte proceeds any farther therein.

This is the last action that was taken on the Cambridge Synod's Platform in the halls of legislation, civil or ecclesiastical. It was accepted generally with a tacit agreement on all sides that it came nearer than could have been expected to embodying what the large majority of the colonists who went to church regularly and willingly wanted to believe. It became the platform upon which the structure of New England Congregationalism was built, rebuilt, tenemented, and redecorated. It has been misconstrued and misinterpreted oftener than it has been discarded by the church-goers of Puritan inheritances who through the ensuing centuries have confirmed the judgment of the General Court of October 1649, when the representatives of the people judged that it was best to commend it to the judicious and pious consideration of those who were desirous of continuing to talk about it in both Englands.

The Cambridge Platform was submitted in mid-October 1649. Nine weeks later, on December 17, its title was entered on the Stationers Register in London for an English edition by Hannah Allen. She was the widow of Benjamin Allen who had printed the London issue of the *Capitall Lawes* of 1643. Following his death in 1646, she carried on the business which had been built up by him since 1631. It was a shop that was patronized by authors of Independent leanings. About the time that Allen was led to reprint the *Capitall Lawes* he took an apprentice named Livewell Chapman. A seven years' apprenticeship would have run out

in 1650, and the widow would have had the use of Chapman's services from 1646 until his time expired. Then he married her and the business took a new turn. In 1656 he is mentioned as one "who is or at least a sharer in the private press that hath and doth so much mischief." About the same time he was had up by the Cromwellian authorities for printing a seditious pamphlet.

In the winter of 1649 Edward Winslow was in London keeping a close watch on everything that affected the interests of the American colony. Hannah Allen would have been a natural person for him to entrust with the publication of the Platform. On the other hand, if an advance copy of the document had reached her, she would almost certainly have consulted him before venturing to print it. So far as known it did not appear in England until 1652, when an edition apparently from an imperfect manuscript copy was "Printed by William Bentley for John Ridley." Bentley's shop was in Finsbury, outside the City of London, and at this time he was engaged in a trade war with members of the Stationers Company who were trying to protect their right to a monopoly of printing the Bible. Bentley had acted on a vote of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, asking for cheaper Bibles, and had produced five editions for sale at two shillings a copy. While the Stationers Company was trying to suppress these cheap small octavo editions, the University Printer at Cambridge, who was licensed to print Bibles, stepped into the competition with at least two editions in 1648, as described in Chapter v.

In 1652 the interests of Edward Winslow and of the colonists were vitally dependent upon the London authorities, although it was far from certain who was going to be in authority. When Winslow saw the Bentley-Ridley edition of the *Platform* he had a new one published with the imprint: "Printed in New-England; and Reprinted in London for Peter Cole. 1653." The actual printer could have been Bentley, as a compensation for any loss from the suppression of the other issue. The new and authorized edition contained a preface in which Winslow explained that:

Meeting with a cōpy thereof Reprinted, not only in a disorderly way, but very Falsly, to the great prejudice of the Work, I made it therefore my work to Suppress that Impression, and have gained a Promise, They shall never come to publick sale.

John Ridley, for whom the 1652 edition was printed, was a bookseller who left faint traces of his activities, but he must have had some con-

nection with Peter Cole of the second London edition, for when Cole hanged himself in 1665, his will provided a bequest for Ridley's daughter Elizabeth. Cole began as a bookseller in London in 1637, and soon added a printing shop to his establishment. He seems to have been a person who took advantage of opportunities, for after the Stationers Company authorized him to act as their agent in seizing the press and letters at Finsbury used in printing the small octavo Bibles, the authorities found occasion to put him under a bond of a thousand pounds not to allow these to be used in a disorderly way for any unlicensed book, pamphlet, or paper, before they would let him have the key to the warehouse where the seized material was stored. That he was doing business in a large way is shown by a list issued in 1651 naming thirty titles, chiefly theological, printed and sold by him.

In New England those who had refused to vote for the Platform returned to the fight for a more liberal interpretation of orthodoxy, advocating a "Half-Way Covenant" over which controversialists argued to the benefit of the Cambridge Press and its successors for another two centuries. The split into two violently opposed factions which developed in the Synod of 1646-1649 became more and more clearly outlined. The opposing sides changed their names in the early nineteenth century to Trinitarians and Unitarians without altering the fundamentals for which they contended or the components of which they were composed. The steadiness with which the fight was sustained is shown by the reprints of the PLATFORM at Cambridge in 1671 and Boston in 1680. There were fourteen in the next century before the Revolution of 1775, and ten between 1808 and 1855, after which the subject lost controversial importance.

Bibliographical descriptions of thirty editions of the *Platform of Church Discipline* are given under the name of Richard Mather, the ablest of his family, in Thomas James Holmes' *The Minor Mathers A List of Their Works*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1940.

SUPPLEMENTARY LAWS

There is nothing in the record of Samuel Green's career to mark him as a business man or a natural craftsman, but when the PLATFORM OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE was ready for delivery he found himself in charge of an established industry with an active future in sight. This should have been about midwinter of 1649, when it was time to get to work

on the next year's almanac. A more important job was already in prospect. While the General Court was awaiting the final decisions of the Synod, on October 17, it voted:

The Court, finding by experience the great benefit that doth redound to the country by putting the laws in print, do conceive it very requisite that those laws that have passed the consent of the General Court since the Book of Laws were in printing or printed, should be forthwith committed to the press; and for that end appoint Richard Bellingham, esq; Mr Nowell, Mr Auditor General, Capt. Keayne, and Mr Hills, or any three of them a committee to prepare them against the Court of Election; that upon approbation of the return of the committee, they may be printed; as also therewith to prepare those laws referred to in the end of the printed laws, with a suitable table, to be printed.

A year later, on October 18, 1650, Bellingham, Secretary Rawson, and Mr. Hills were appointed a committee

to take order for the printing the laws agreed upon to be printed, to determine of all things in reference thereunto, agreeing with the president for the printing of them with all expedition, and to allow the title if there be cause.

The final clause may mean that there had been some question whether these laws were to be printed as a supplement to be added to the 1648 volume or independently with their own title page. A better guess may be that the title depended on whether the requisite text of the laws left room for it.

The copy for this first supplement was prepared for the printer by Mr. Hills, and printed copies were almost certainly in the hands of the members when they met for the Court of Election in May 1651. It contained at least forty-nine laws on sixteen pages, with a heading and not a title. Mr. Whitmore in his *Sketch* of 1890 found the proof of this in the second codification of 1660, which contains marginal references to *L.* or *Li.* 1 and 2, followed by other numbers preceded by *p.* obviously referring to pages from which the adjacent laws had been copied. The references to *Li.* 1 proved, when the 1648 volume came to light, to be accurate references to that volume, with a few exceptions plausibly charged to misprints. Those to *Li.* 2 are in alphabetical order when arranged by the page numbers, with exceptions which may in some cases be due to changes in the titles of the laws. They run from one to sixteen with three exceptions, 24, 31, 32, due most likely to clerical or typographical slips.

Nearly all of the laws from *Li.* 2 were passed by the Court in 1648,

1649, or 1650. There are a few which may be the ones "referred to in the end of the" 1648 volume. The earliest of these concerned *Townships*, passed in March 1635/6; others were from 1644 and subsequent years. None of these reflect seriously on the judgment of those responsible for their omission from the first compilation.

Using similar evidence in the same way Mr. Whitmore demonstrated that the laws passed at the sessions of the ensuing three years were printed in the winter of 1653/4 in a twenty-page supplement. A third supplement was printed in 1658, with the laws of 1654 on pages 1-7, of 1655 on 10-11, and 1656 on 10-14 with one more on 18, 1657 on 21-26. There are eleven references to laws of 1658, none of these having a page reference. Mr. Whitmore charged most of the errors to the printers of the codification of 1660, but a reëxamination of them establishes a larger probability that they were due to clerical carelessness. The law of 1656 referred to page 10 was actually passed in 1655, so that the next year began, as it should, on page 12. No guess is offered as to the contents of the pages not mentioned, 8-9, 15-17, or 19-20. As there are no page numbers for the 1658 laws, there can be no certainty as to the size of this supplement.

The first of these supplements remedied the worst of the faults that had been criticized in the compilation of 1648. During the next three years the legislators tried to placate their secretary, who was loath to lose a perquisite. It had been a part of his duty to make, or procure, copies of the laws passed at each session and send these to the several towns so that they could be read aloud at the next town meeting. The colony was expanding and with it the secretary's other duties, and as the number of towns increased, this tedious though profitable chore fell into arrears. Toward the end of 1653 the situation was met by printing the laws that had accumulated since the supplement of 1650. The vote ordering this is not found in the records, and one suggestion is that its wording led the secretary to suppress it, although the printing was attended to promptly by Mr. Hills. Early in the next legislative year, in May 1654, steps were taken looking toward the printing of the laws soon after the close of each session, and at the same time provision was made for the replacement of the 1648 compilation with a more satisfactory and more comprehensive codification.

It is ordered by this Court, that henceforth the Secretary shall, within ten days after this present sessions and so from time to time, deliver a copy of all laws that are published unto the president, or printer, who shall forthwith make an

impression thereof, to the number of five, six, or seven hundred, as the Court shall order; all which copies the Treasurer shall take of and pay for in wheat or otherwise, to content, for the number of five hundred after the rate of one penny a sheet, or eight shillings a hundred for five hundred sheets of a sort, for so many sheets as the books shall contain.

And the Treasurer shall distribute the books to every magistrate one, to every Court one, to the Secretary one, to each town where no magistrate dwells one, and the rest among the towns that bear public charge within the jurisdiction, according to the number of freemen in each town.

And the order that engageth the Secretary to transcribe copies . . . repealed, the Court allowing him ten pounds this year only, in respect of what benefit hereby is withdrawn from him.

. . . Mr. Samuel Symonds, Major Denison, and Mr Joseph Hills shall examine, compare, reconcile, and place together, in good order, all former laws both printed and written, and make fit titles and tables for ready recourse to any particular contained in them, and to present the same unto the next Court of Election, to be considered of, that so order may be taken for the printing of them together in one book, whereby they be more useful than now they are or can be.

Ten days later a committee was directed to view the laws passed at this session for the purpose of printing these promptly. A preliminary conference on the subject was recorded on June 9:

Upon conference with Mr Dunster and the printer, in reference to the imprinting of the Acts of the General Court, whereby we understand some inconveniences may accrue to the printer, by printing that law which recites the agreement for printing, it is therefore ordered that the said law be not put forth in print, but kept amongst the written records of this Court.

This may or may not mean that the public officials drove a better bargain than private individuals ordinarily obtained. The trouble may have been exactly the opposite. At a penny a sheet or eight shillings a hundred, a pound would have paid for 250 sheets or an edition of that number of copies of a one-sheet publication. An edition of the same number of a larger work would cost as many pounds as there were sheets in each copy. An earlier basis for reckoning was used in figuring the entries in the list of 1655/6, where the charge for printing is computed at a pound a sheet regardless of the size of the edition. One exception is the Law Book of 1648, which was the same folio size as the supplementary laws for which the above agreement was made; the 1648 rate was calculated as slightly under a pound a sheet for 600 copies, the odd amount implying that the

exact charge was known. The printing charges for another book on the same list, the revised Psalms of 1651, show no relationship to the standard rates. A copy was made up of twelve half-sheets, and the 2,000 copies would have required twenty-five realms of paper. The figures given by Green who printed it were £40 for printing and £30 for the paper. This may be where Green got the idea of charging by the number of sheets that went to the press. At a penny a sheet, two impressions each, six sheets for 2,000 copies came to £50. While the list of 1655/6 was being compiled, a note was added to the entry for the 1651 Psalms; "but ye prenter sayth he gott .50.lb. by ye psalms, besides the bookes he gave away." This apparent confession may have upset Green, for he forgot to enter the first of the supplementary laws. His figures for the second one, twenty folio pages printed not long before the above agreement, are:

Lawes. 5. sheets.	12.00.00
abate for paper	01.05. 0
for print.	5.00. 0
	<hr/> 05.15. 0

This allows a pound a sheet for printing, and at five shillings a ream, five reams of paper, 2,500 sheets, the exact amount required for 500 copies provided that not one was wasted.

Despite the injunctions of the General Court, there were again delays, for the third supplement which contained the laws of 1654 that were ordered to be sent to press within ten days, also contained those of the three following years. The records suggest that there were complaints and irritation. In October 1656:

It is ordered that the Deputy Governor, Capt. Clarke, Mr Secretary and Capt. Savage shall examine the laws for two years past, and cause such laws as are of public concernment to be written out, whereby they may forthwith be committed to the press.

In the following May:

It is ordered by this Court, that all laws of public concernment, not yet printed, be forthwith transcribed by the Secretary, and sent to the press to be printed at the public charge; the printer to be paid by the Treasurer.

This supplement came out within another year but it was already evident that these piecemeal publications, supplementing a compilation which had been adjudged unsatisfactory before it was issued, could not serve the needs of the expanding colony. There were inevitable delays

and disagreements before and after the work was turned over to the printers, who delivered the finished volume in 1660.

THE SECOND CODIFICATION

The demand for a new compilation containing all the necessary laws currently in force became increasingly insistent, and in May 1658 the task of preparing this was delegated to Major General Daniel Denison, a son-in-law of Governor Dudley and an active member of the ruling caste in the colony. At the October session it was ordered

that the Book of Laws as they have been revised and corrected . . . shall forthwith be printed, and be in force in one month after the same; and that there shall be a perfect table made thereunto . . . to be prepared for the press by our honored major-general . . .

A year later the treasurer was empowered to disburse "what shall be necessary tending towards the printing of the laws, unto Samuel Greene, referring to his pains therein or otherwise." The work may have been approaching completion on May 31, 1660, for detailed provision was made for the distribution of the copies and the financing of the publication:

For the more equal distribution of the law books, when they shall be printed, it is ordered by this Court . . . that the printer shall deliver the said books to the country Treasurer as soon as they are past the press. who, immediately upon receiving of them, shall deliver or cause to be delivered to every magistrate one; to every deputy of this General Court one; to the Secretary and Clerk of the Deputies one apiece for themselves; to the Recorder or Clerk of every County Court three apiece to be kept for the use of the several Courts:

And the remainder of the said books, the Treasurer shall send to every county treasurer such a proportion as is due to each county according to what charge they bear in the country rates.

And the county Treasurers are hereby enjoined to send unto every town in the respective counties their towns's proportion, according to the rule above mentioned, and deliver the same to some meet person employed by each town to receive them, engaging to satisfy the Treasurer for them according to his disbursements, that so no charge be put upon the country for the same, as Cap. Gooking, the Treasurer of the country, and Treasurer of each county shall determine, both for price and quality of pay.

And that provision be made for the eastern parts, it is ordered, that before the division there be fifty books laid apart for their supply, they making like

payment to the county Treasurer for the same; and that Portsmouth and Dover have twenty books laid aside for them on the same terms.

And it is further ordered, that Mr. Thomas Danforth, who was to have the oversight of the impression, make an index to the said book with all convenient speed, that so the work may be no longer delayed.

In October 1660 the book was out, but there were doubts in some quarters whether the amended, newly printed language supplanted all other texts of legislation as binding court action and legal interpretation. After attending to this detail, the General Court cleared its obligations by voting grants of two hundred and fifty acres of land in any place not already legally disposed of, to Thomas Danforth and Edward Rawson as a gratuity for their pains in surveying the Laws at the Press and otherwise contributing to the publication. It then remained only for the treasurer to carry out the provisions of the vote of the preceding May by giving a copy to each member of the General and other Courts. After doing this, that vote directed him to distribute the remainder of the edition pro rata, in proportion to their contribution to the colonial treasury, to the several counties and unincorporated districts, whence the copies were to be allocated to the several towns. There was a further provision, not clearly phrased, that these distributed copies were to be paid for, at a price to be fixed, by the several communities, which were left to reimburse themselves. A scheme more certain to fail of its purpose could not have been devised nor one more certain to assure the early disappearance of most of the printed copies.

A supplement with the laws passed subsequent to 1660 was issued after the sessions of 1663, with omissions and additions a year later, and thereafter annually, developing gradually into regular issues that came out not long after the close of each session. When the General Court of 1670 came together, one of its first acts was to declare that "there is a great want of law books . . . and very few of them that are extant are complete." A new edition was ordered, which came out in 1672.

CHAPTER VII

THE END OF HENRY DUNSTER

PROBING THE PAST

THERE was increasing activity at the Press after it was moved with the Dunster and Glover families and the Glover belongings into the President's new house in the Harvard Yard. Soon there were further changes in the domestic situation, which left Mr. Dunster with only the two children of his first wife and what remained of their father's American properties, of the cares that he married into in 1641. These children were ten years older than when they left the Sutton rectory, old enough to notice what they saw and heard going on around them. One thing they can hardly have avoided thinking about as they grew up. Most of the things in the house had been familiar to them from earliest childhood, in memories that went back far beyond the entrance into their lives of a new father and the subsequent advent of another mother. Their baby brother David was joined by a little sister Dorothy in the winter of 1647 and there was a baby Henry in 1650. In this year John Glover was graduated from the College and departed to enter upon medical studies at Aberdeen. These studies were interrupted when he was summoned to London by the death of his grandmother. That her will was of interest to him is implied by a letter in which he informed his brother-in-law John Appleton, who had married Priscilla Glover in 1651, that he wished her to have his American property. That this in his opinion included the printery and that the gift was not outright is shown by the steps which he took subsequently to secure possession of the Glover belongings which had passed into Mr. Dunster's control.

In 1650 the General Court directed its committee to agree "with the president for the printing of the laws with all expedition." In 1654 the laws of each session were ordered to be delivered "unto the president, or printer, who shall forthwith make an impression thereof." It is not certain whether the President was thought of as an individual proprietor in these votes or as the head of the College. But there can be no doubt that in 1655/6 Steven Day and Samuel Green agreed in assuming that all the profits from the operation of the printing business had accrued

to Dunster personally from before he reached Boston until he removed from the house on the College grounds.

Samuel Green's recollection of the circumstances under which he became connected with the Press, a quarter-century before, leaves a different impression regarding its ownership. When he reminded John Winthrop junior on July 6, 1675, of his claims as the colony's printer, Green wrote:

. . . although I was not used unto it, yet being urged thereunto by one and another of place, did what my own endeavours and help that I got from others that was procured, I undertook the work and brought up my son to the same.

This does not imply that he was hired by Dunster or that he operated the shop under the President's direction. It was not the first time that an effort had been made to find out just what the relations of the Press were with its owner. In 1664/5 the Hon. Robert Boyle was approached by Dunster's successor with a suggestion looking to a possible gratuity to Harvard. Before replying, Boyle wrote to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, asking them to find out whether he was under obligations to become a benefactor. They replied on September 13, 1665:

We have also conferred with Mr. Chauncy in relation to his letter, and find that the former president did agree with the printer to allow the College for the use of their press, letters and all other charges about the same, correcting of the press included, the sum of ten shillings per sheet.

The above statements are not the only ones relating to this Press which seem to have been influenced by the circumstances under which they were made. Cautious rereading of the documents that concern the Cambridge Press engenders an uneasy feeling that a number of people were not telling all that they knew about what had been going on. There seems to have been an undercurrent of gossip that was accepted as true by those in the know, which nobody considered it necessary to say anything about. The situation was complicated. The Press had passed into the possession of Mr. Dunster and with him onto the College grounds, during the years when business was at a standstill and nobody felt sure that the colony could survive. Nobody knew or cared whether it went to him as inheritor of his wife's belongings or as administrator of the Glover children's affairs. Reviving prosperity gave these questions increasing interest. By that time two of the women in Governor Winthrop's family circle were Glovers, and the heads of the Winthrop family,

present and prospective, were the two men who knew more than anybody else about all the circumstances connected with the Press. For reasons that were never made known, relations between the Winthrops and President Dunster apparently were not cordial.

Most of the difficulty seems to have been that more important questions stood in the way of anybody taking the trouble to find out whether the Press was Mr. Glover's personal property when he brought it over, or whether it was consigned in his care for the use of the colony. There seem to have been a few older people who knew that both possibilities were partly true; that part of the printing material was sent over by people who did not care who got it so long as it was used for the benefit of the colony, and that Mr. Glover bought and paid for whatever else was needed to equip a printing establishment. The complication was that there was nobody to claim the part that was not bought by Mr. Glover, in whose possession it had been when he died. Both parts continued in Mrs. Glover's possession when she married President Dunster and remained in her house when he went on living there after she died. The shop was moved intact with everything else that went to the new house on the College property, and it stayed there when the President had to move away.

After Dunster's departure, Samuel Green continued to carry on the printing business without troubling the new President. He appears to have lost, if he ever had it, the habit of paying the College for the use of the equipment. Most of the work he did was paid for out of missionary funds and Green no doubt felt that the College would contribute the use of what was now in its possession. It was not until the prosperity of the community developed to a point where printing promised to offer a profitable business opening in the metropolis, threatening competition with the press at Cambridge, that Green put forward the proprietary interest of the College as an argument to support a claim to monopoly rights. Perhaps this was what led to the revival of old stories and to questions as to who really owned the College Press. Something led a new College president to make enquiries which brought him an account of a gift of nearly £50 for the purchase of type by some men at Amsterdam whose names were imperfectly remembered.

This gift of nearly £50 offers a possible explanation of another perplexity. Before Dunster left his house in the College Yard, the treasurer entered the printing material there in an inventory of College property as worth £80. Two years afterward Steven Day stated under oath that

"the charges which Mr. Glover expended in England for the procuring of the printing press, besides freight and other petty expenses" came to about £20. The equipment that was available for the work on the *BAY PSALM BOOK* and subsequent issues of the Press must have cost considerably more than the sum that Day said Mr. Glover had laid out. If what he bought were the things that an experienced printer told him would be needed to supplement a stock of type which other benefactors had supplied, the whole would have been worth approximately the amount at which the College treasurer inventoried it.

FORTUNE SHIFTS SIDES

On August 9, 1653, President Dunster presided over the tenth Harvard Commencement at which a class was graduated. The eleventh Commencement was celebrated on the following day with equal solemnity. Each of these two classes had its own printed broadside *THESES*. The smaller quarto *QUAESTIONES* were provided for those graduates of three years before who came up for the second degree on the first of the two occasions. No signs have been noted that either of the ancient English universities gave passing attention to this curious academic proceeding, but Glasgow University, thanks to a later London physician, preserves the three printed documents.

The twin Commencements were the culmination of what may fairly be maintained to have been the most important achievement in the whole course of Harvard's history. The ten students who faced their President on August 9 had entered College in 1649 and had pursued a course of study extending over four years, a year longer than any earlier class. They were placated by a promise that they should have their Master's degree after only two more years. The nine students who were graduated on the following day had entered in 1650, but they were not eligible for the second degree until 1656. Those who entered in 1651 clamored for their degrees at the end of their third year, but by that time Dunster was on his way out and his successor stood firmly for the longer term. This action took the colonial institution definitely out of the class of three-year junior colleges and justified it in claiming full equality with the major foundations of the Mother Country in curriculum if not yet in the amount or quality of instruction. It eliminated the most obvious objection to the acceptance of Harvard graduates by Cambridge and Oxford without loss of academic standing. The step was taken at an opportune moment. The recognition had already been

granted by Oxford, and the manifold problems that beset both faculties and students throughout the Parliamentary upheaval facilitated this acceptance by both institutions. Fifteen months later, when Charles Chauncy became President, he brought to Harvard a well-grounded English academic reputation as a scholar of acknowledged attainments with experience and standing in learned circles. Harvard's right to a place in the sisterhood of higher education has not since been challenged.

The Commencements of 1653 were the outcome of more than six years of anxious thought, much serious discussion, and unremitted effort to secure and hold the approval of the men who were charged with the oversight of the College. Dunster's success in this move is his outstanding claim to distinction in his administration. It must have absorbed his attention and exhausted his energies throughout these years. They were years in which other matters persisted in distracting his thoughts and weakening his resistance to pressure for objects of lesser consequence. When the greater end was accomplished, Dunster found himself embroiled in another controversy from which he was unable to extricate himself and which brought about his downfall.

A third matter which had to be attended to during the years following 1649, of less importance than the others but involved in them, was the ownership of the printing establishment. There is nothing to suggest that this had required or received much of the President's personal attention when Matthew Day was looking after it. When Samuel Green was placed in charge, there seems to have been a clearer understanding or agreement than before concerning the control of its operation. There was still a stock of well-seasoned paper that could be drawn on for Theses and Quaestiones and doubtless for other small jobs. Perhaps the Law Book of 1648 and the Psalms of 1651 were on paper bought for these publications, presumably from the stock carried in Usher's warehouse. The cost of paper supplied by Usher would have been offset by the copies taken by him for sale. Money had to be provided while work was in progress to pay the wages of the workmen. There is nothing to hint at how this was financed, but the chances are that it also came from Usher under some sort of barter arrangement. The situation was not simplified by the confusion as regards ownership between Dunster as President and Dunster as occupier of the Glover property, with another element introduced by the joint authorship of the revised Psalms by Dunster and Richard Lyon. If difficulties threatened, Dunster may have found that his position was stronger when he spoke for the Press located on College property than

as the representative of heirs who were about to come to an age when they could look after their own belongings.

When Samuel Green in 1655/6 assisted in making up a schedule of the profits derived by Dunster from the operation of the Press, he forgot, or did not know of, the arrangement that he told President Chauncy about ten years later. Chauncy claimed that Green said that Dunster had arranged for the payment of ten shillings a sheet to the College for the use of the Press. Such an arrangement would have been fair enough, but if made by Dunster it must have been made either in 1649 or in 1653 when the College treasurer had possession of the Press. It would have made very little difference to anybody which of Dunster's pockets any money received under such an arrangement went into. For ten years he had kept his family and the College going, with the expense accounts getting more and more inextricably intermingled.

With crossed wires pulling contrarily, there can be no certainty of what happened or why. After what may have been the "authors' edition" of the revised Psalms was off the press in 1651, Dunster's troubles began to multiply, and his available time for dealing with them decreased. The printery may have seemed to him one thing that he did not need to bother with. Samuel Green may have adopted an irritating attitude. There is nothing to indicate exactly what happened, and the dates fall at a time when it is not possible to guess between cause and effect. The title to the property of the Press passed from private ownership to the College. The transfer took place at about the time when Dunster's tenure of the presidency was jeopardized. The managers of the College had chosen a treasurer ten years before, but he and the President, who had possession of the property, had not been able to get together. When a change of administration seemed imminent, the treasurer assumed his responsibilities and took possession of the visible property. One of his first acts was to draw up a schedule of the belongings for which he thus became responsible. On this inventory he entered the printing material as valued at £80. In 1656 it was referred to in legal proceedings as having been sold to the College. The explanation may be that when they were considering what to do with the President and the best way to do it, the responsible officials made up their minds to get rid of him with the least possible disturbance of public opinion. Dunster does not seem to have had many friends who were ready to take an active part on his behalf, but in the community there was an influential minority that had little to say but did all it could to encourage opposition to the dominant admin-

istration of the colony. Those in control were watchful against giving this unfriendly element anything that could be used to start criticism of the officeholders. It would not be unusual if under such circumstances the authorities decided to give Dunster what he said the Press was worth and ask no questions about his claim to ownership, in order to forestall any argument which might delay the settlement of matters of much graver import.

☞ Facsimile prints from photographs of the two THESES of 1653, as well as those of 1687 and 1776 are in William Coolidge Lane's paper on "Early Harvard Broad sides" in the American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings* for October 1914.

ANTIPAEDOBAPTISM

The trouble with Dunster was symptomatic of a condition that pervaded the whole of the settled portion of Massachusetts. The colony founded in 1628 had prospered happily for a time and the fertile land filled with settlers most of whom were related in mind and blood to those who preceded them. Prosperity brought inevitable difficulties, as the first comers were followed by less harmonious seekers looking for mental as well as economic expansion beyond the limits set by the beginners. A movement toward liberalizing the government spread after the election of the free-thinking aristocrat Young Sir Harry Vane as governor in 1636. In his wake surged a wave of eager disputants who misjudged the situation, misinterpreting the temper of the settlers as a body by supposing that the stage was ready set for the advocacy of divergent shades of opinion. As soon as the danger to the peace and comfort of those who had opened the way to this retreat in the American wilderness became evident, their leaders were restored to authority. Matters meanwhile had reached a point where convincing steps had to be taken, and there was a riddance of the discordant elements. The Bay Colony was freed from the fear of the doctrine of grace and other Antinomian heresies, so that the settled inhabitants could pursue the doctrine of works in their fields as well as in the meetinghouses.

The purge was thorough as far as it went, and it went as far as seemed necessary at the moment. It did not go far into the thoughts of the peaceable home-makers who had no desire to argue about ideas which they regarded as less important than the immediate necessity of clearing garden plots and fencing pasture lands. But these uncontentious English folk did their share of thinking about serious matters, and the agitation

over the purging of the Antinomians put other ideas into their heads. Perhaps the belief most generally held was that the homesteads they had made their own and the work they had put into them were worth more than any quarrel over doctrine. But with this there went a strong impression that they could do their own thinking and that the doctrinal beliefs which the Elders said were God's very fundamentals were not the whole nor the only truth of Holy Writ.

Early in the colony's second decade, the authorities became aware that there was a considerable body of opinion that did not accept harmoniously all that the clergy told them they ought to believe. It was not an aggressively discordant element, holding beliefs that it wanted to argue about, but it was strong in its opinion that it could produce Scripture proof that its ideas were supported by as much of the Gospel evidence as were any contrary doctrines that had been put forth as orthodox by the local clerical establishment. Ten years earlier the authorities had been strong enough to throw out their opponents, but they had learned more than one lesson in the interim and now they knew better than to invite another open controversy.

During this second decade the minority of independent thinkers in the colony, as in England, had concentrated its cogitating over Scripture doctrine on a question that had throughout the Christian centuries been a stumbling block in the path of orthodoxy, the rite of baptism. Throughout the ages the parental human heart has sought to protect the helpless infant from danger, not least the danger of eternal perdition for the unregenerate. As the religious structure became organized, the alternatives came to be damnation for the unsaved and church-membership as the symbol of salvation. The next step was to admit the infant offspring of church members as quickly as possible to the protection that was extended over all who had been baptized. But as human experience came to influence thought on these matters, it was observed that baptism at birth did not inevitably and of necessity produce saved souls at maturity. The whole nonconformist Christian world was rent into multiple fragments composed of those who in varying degrees did or did not believe that the baptism of infants was scriptural.

In the Massachusetts Bay Colony this question of paedobaptism never reached the stage of dangerous polemical importance. But it was a possible source of anxiety almost from the beginning, requiring careful handling by the authorities whenever it showed signs of rising to the surface. There is no way of telling with certainty how Henry Dunster

got himself involved in it. He had been placed in a position of dignity and social standing, and became the husband of a widow living in a sumptuously furnished mansion. She died two years later and within another year the oldest of her first husband's five children married into the best family in the colony, and Mr. Dunster married a young woman of a family living in a Baptist community outside the area of social distinction. Speculation is inevitable, but there are no facts to support any conclusion.

Mr. Dunster's union with Elizabeth Atkinson was blessed with a son David on May 16, 1645; a daughter Dorothy in 1647/8; and a son Henry by 1650. Jonathan appeared in 1653, to be recorded under the dates 28 September and 27 October. There was a daughter Elizabeth on December 29, 1656. When the fourth child was born in the autumn of 1653, the Cambridge church folk were scandalized because the President did not present the infant for baptism. Nobody will ever know whether the College Overseers would have considered it to be any part of their business to intervene in the future church affiliations of the President's child if he had let the matter rest in the mouths of common gossip. Instead he—or those under whose skilful insinuations his actions may have been controlled—took the opportunity of a sermon to the students to advocate a spirit of tolerance toward divergent opinions, or, as this was interpreted by unfriendly critics, to speak for antipaedobaptism. This was of course what he in fact did. From the head of the College speaking in his official position, this created a serious situation. Mr. Dunster deliberately aroused dissension among the students, distracting their attention from their studies and creating discord among them. He awakened a feeling among the friends of the institution that it was not a place to entrust with the upbringing of youth.

To many, the situation called for prompt and decisive action to bring the President to a realization of what he had done. Instead, the responsible officials, the Committee of Overseers as well as the Governor with his Assistants, talked the matter over and acted with moderation. A special committee was appointed, consisting mostly of those well disposed toward Dunster, to go to Cambridge and report on the state of the College. This committee took its time, allowing popular feelings to die down, and it chose its own time to bring in a report that was in effect a whitewashing of the President. It found nothing that required drastic action. As in other similar reports, effectiveness called for minor criticism, and the committee observed, what can hardly have been news to

anybody acquainted with College affairs, that its business arrangements might be improved.

The President's reaction to the committee's report is easily understandable. Instead of appreciating the courtesy of its findings, he became furiously angry and resigned in a letter addressed, not to the Overseers, but to the Magistrates of the Governor's Council who were the present representatives of the specially convened body which had placed him in the presidency in 1640. The Governor and Assistants very properly referred this letter back to the Overseers, asking them to find out whether Dunster really meant to resign. Once more, time was given full opportunity to salve the wounded feelings, and the letter never received a recorded answer. Instead, it was referred to the six Elders from the near-by churches who were members of the Overseers, and they called upon some of their colleagues to help in a conference with the President.

It is doubtful whether the wisest course was taken to reach the end which almost everyone desired, a quiet sidetracking of the whole troublesome question. The clergy felt overconfident of their intellectual dominance and their inherent authority in their several communities, and apparently welcomed the chance to demonstrate their divinely inspired leadership over an academic scholar. The President as clearly took the matter seriously, for he kept a notebook in which he entered copies of letters he wrote at this time explaining to friends in England the development of his beliefs, as well as minutes of the long conference in which he matched his logic against the arguments of the clergymen. As ordinarily happens when human thought goes aground on political problems, worldly wisdom was all on the side of orthodox conservatism, seeking a quiet development step by step of the existing code of interrelationships; while logic, pure reason, clear foresight into the future, are united in the minds of those who want to readjust forthwith the weaknesses of the present and overleap all obstacles in the paths of progress. When the Massachusetts clergy assembled their ablest dialecticians to overwhelm the College President, practical common sense was all on their side and it is probable that if the matter could have been left in the hands of a few wise men selected by the Governor and his advisers, a solution would have been reached to everybody's satisfaction. It is equally possible that if somebody had explained to the President's wife that his persistence in his stand on paedobaptism would result in her having to relinquish her social position and economic comforts, the pressure that was behind him might have been relaxed. Instead, Dunster stood firm, secure in the un-

assailable strength of his logical interpretation of Scripture texts and human reason, and supported perhaps by the encouragement of those who realized that his martyrdom would destroy the obstacles to the open avowal of their interpretation of what they held to be God's inmost truths.

DUNSTER'S SUCCESSOR

The ablest of the local clergy failed to convince the College President of the error of his ways. Meanwhile God moved in a mysterious way and achieved wonders. The College, with inevitable confusion and much argument, readjusted itself to higher standards of European academic custom; its President devoted himself with a clear conscience to the problems of reorganization under the changed requirements; the printery responded to the revivifying influences of a new patron who brought assurances of financial support; the family settled itself to await another arrival in the unchallenged enjoyment of the household furnishings. In the town of Scituate on the sandy stretches of Plymouth Colony, far from any contact with academic thought or other intellectual relaxation, the ablest classical scholar in the New England world, a mature student experienced in university life, Charles Chauncy, realized that the fruitless labors of a parish outside the currents of expanding settlements were hopelessly wasteful of his aging energies.

Chauncy had made a brilliant start in the borderland of English Puritanism that opened on the ministry in one direction and on the university world in the other. Inadvertently perhaps he had become interested in the fascinating intellectual as well as scriptural problems involved in the discussions, still largely in the hands of the professional theologians, of immersion and infant damnation. With a penetrating mind backed by a capacity for storing academic erudition, he allowed himself full leeway in following the paths that opened as he cogitated on these controversial subjects. Earnestly devoted to learning, Chauncy had likewise a deeply ingrained strain of wisdom. He let his thinking lead him to unassailable convictions, which in turn opened on unforeseen practical conclusions that demanded expression in action that interfered with worldly prospects. Then as suddenly he recanted, perceiving equally convincing alternative interpretations of dogmatic Scripture.

This happened more than once before the time when Charles Chauncy found himself at loose ends when the migration to Massachusetts Bay was at flood. Arrived at the new Boston, he accepted an assignment to

the church at Scituate before he had time to understand the many local divergencies or even the broad line that marked off the puritan settlements about Salem and Boston from the Pilgrim localities of Plymouth and the Cape. There he labored faithfully for many years with meager reward before time convinced him that his family of sturdy boys and his own maturing abilities demanded wider opportunity. He decided to return to England. To have sought another charge in a community where his qualities would have ampler recognition would have been to throw himself into the contention over the right of any minister to forsake a parish over which he had been settled. Chauncy had had plenty of experience in controversy, in youth when this was an enjoyable test of abilities, but he had no desire now for more of it. He resigned his pastorate and removed his family to Boston, taking lodgings while waiting for satisfactory transportation to an English port. He had been away from the metropolis and free from any entanglements in the local controversies, but he had not been forgotten. His qualities were remembered, and the reasons why they had failed of recognition; renewed intercourse revealed that added years, and life at Scituate, had worked for moderation.

The order of events is again not certain. Chauncy was met as he walked the Boston streets, and influential persons called upon him. He replied to a formal question by expressing a willingness to become the head of the College. He did not object to a more formal condition, that he enter into an agreement that he would consider his opinions on infant baptism as his private concern, promising to keep these to himself during his connection with the College. The official intermediaries made it clear that they had no desire to influence or to interfere with his freedom to believe what he pleased; they were vitally concerned with what the College President expounded in public. They provided in advance against a renewal of the situation created by Dunster.

Before or after the conferences with Mr. Chauncy, President Dunster wrote another letter of resignation, brief and to the point as if intended for the records. This letter shows signs of having been preceded by astute diplomatic conversations with somebody who had an acute sense of timing. It is not certain that Dunster knew that his successor had been or was being selected when it was written. The course of subsequent events suggests that the President may have misinterpreted the failure to reply directly to his first resignation, and that he had arrived at an opinion that the officials desired to retain his services to a degree that gave him com-

mand of the situation. He may have thought that by resigning again, he provided a basis for discussion that would enable him to establish a more satisfactory understanding of the relationship between himself and the Overseers.

The news that Chauncy had actually become his successor, all ready to move into the presidential residence, was a surprise for which its occupants had made no preparations. The family had no thought of moving out of the house which had seemed to Dunster at least partly his own, inasmuch as he had had to find some of the money to pay for the cost of construction. It was late autumn with inclement weather in prospect when the news broke upon him, and he had nowhere to go. Possession had its way and the Dunsters remained where they were over the winter, while the Chauncys got along in outside lodgings. In the spring the Dunster family went to stay with friends in Charlestown until arrangements were made for their removal to Scituate to fill in some measure the place left by Mr. Chauncy. From Charlestown it was easy for Mr. Dunster to keep an engagement to appear in the Cambridge court to answer a charge of disturbing the peace by arising in a time of public church service to express his disapproval of those who were presenting their own infants for baptism. It was a parting gesture, and it does not appear to have affected the good will which continued to exist between the first President and those neighbors with whom his friendship remained unbroken until his death in 1659.

When the graduates of Harvard and their attendant fellow citizens gathered on Tuesday, August 14, 1655 for the annual Commencement festivities, there were two recent additions to the institution, a new President and a brick Indian college through whose windows could be seen the only printing shop in the English colonies. This had been moved into its lower floor when President Chauncy insisted that the presswork was more than his ten-year-old residence would stand.

The Press had already finished printing the first book of the Bible, as translated by John Eliot of Roxbury, for on August 16 he wrote that "We are upon Matthew," which was to be the second proof that these printers were capable of producing the rest of the Bible. This Indian work for the London Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England must have been laid aside in order to print the Commencement programs, of which the *QUAESTIONES* for this year still exist. On the day after the graduating exercises Chauncy preached his first Commencement sermon, and the work on *MATTHEW* may not have been resumed

until after the sermon had been printed in order that it might be given "To all the Bountiful Benefactors of the Colledge surviving, And to all the Favourers, and true well wishers to the Faithfull Ministry, and Schools of Learning" to whom it was dedicated with the President's wish that they might have "increase of Grace, and prosperity." It was printed as a small octavo of 57 pages of text, three and a half sheets, with the title:

GODS MERCY SHEWED TO HIS PEOPLE in Giving them a Faithful Ministry and Schools of Learning for the Continual Supplies therof. Delivered in a Sermon preached at Cambridg, the Day after the Commencement . . . Published with some additions thereunto, at the request of divers Honoured and much Respected friends, For publick benefit, as they judged. Printed by Samuel Green, in Cambridg in New-England 1655.

THE GLOVER ESTATE

John Appleton of Ipswich left his wife, Priscilla Glover, a while after their marriage in 1651 to go to London. There he learned that there was not enough money left in the Glover estate in England to pay Mrs. Appleton the £400 bequeathed to her in her father's will. After her husband returned to America, Mrs. Appleton and her brother, John Glover, demanded of Henry Dunster an accounting of his administration of their father's property. Failing to receive satisfaction, the matter was taken into court. The evidence presented on behalf of the heirs by their attorneys, Hibbens and Lowell, as well as that offered on his own behalf by Mr. Dunster, was deposited in the files of the Middlesex County Court at Cambridge, Massachusetts, where some of it still is. Two of the depositions signed by Steven Day are now in the Harvard archives, with other papers that may have been preserved by descendants of Josse Glover until they were used by Professor Benjamin Pierce while writing his *History of Harvard* for the bicentennial celebration of its founding. These documents furnish much of the material for the history of the Cambridge Press before 1654.

The most helpful of the witnesses produced by the prosecution to support its claims and especially to show the amount of the income that Dunster was said to have derived from his control of the Press, was Steven Day. Since the death of his son Matthew in 1649 he had been the only representative of the family that set about printing in 1638. The case against Dunster was based largely upon the statements made by Day. One of these reads:

I Steven Day do attest that the paper wch Mr Josse Glover provided to bring over for the use of the printing presse cost in Engl. 60lb:00:00 wch paper (excepting six pounds worth his wife sould) hath been used for printing by Mr Dunsters order, untill such time as Mr Dunster sould the presse to the Colledge upon his removall from thence and then he caried away such part of it as did remaine. And as I have ben enformed by ye printer it was about 12: Reame yt he so caried away with him.

Attested upon oath the 1.(2) 56 by Steven Day
Thomas Danforth Recorder

Another statement attributed to Day valued the paper used for the BAY PSALM BOOK of 1640 at five shillings a ream. At this price £60 would have purchased 240 reams; but if as Day stated in another deposition prices doubled in going from London to Boston, the amount of paper would have been twice as much if it was reckoned at its value where used. The smaller amount fits best with Day's estimate in another document of the amount of paper used for the several publications, accounting for about 200 reams in all. This does not include what Green may have used during his first four years, when the College programs and other small editions as well as the almanacs could have drawn on the supply which had been stocked with the Press. Day's estimates usually did not include any allowance for waste or overrun, and in one instance did not allow enough paper for the number of copies that he said were printed. This last statement supports an impression given by some of the others made by Steven Day, that he did not know as much about what had been done at the Press as he claimed when there was nobody else who knew anything at all.

Dunster challenged Day's competence as a witness in a memorandum of motions prepared for presentation to the court toward the end of the legal proceedings:

And seeing yt Mr Daye in law this day is far from being a just apprizer having a suite in ye court depending wherin his own personal interest screweth up ye presse value.

The taste of the law may have whetted Day's appetite after he found how easy it was, when he was on the side of the best people, to make an oath to the truth of what the lawyer wanted. While the Glover case was in preparation, Day entered a suit against Dunster for £100 for labor and expenses on the press, which seems large for whatever he could have done that would have been useful thereat. His ideas may have been

exalted by memories of the double indemnity which he had owed his stepson, and done nothing about, since before he left England for good. The amount of the claim was also exactly the same as that of a debt he had owed to the Glover estate since 1640. The case came to trial a fortnight after the main case was settled and the court, which knew Steven Day in the flesh, wasted no time in finding for the defendant, Dunster, with costs. This verdict may throw light upon the regularity with which the jury in the other case failed to accept Day's sworn statements at face value. He continued on good terms with Samuel Green and it was undoubtedly Day who patched up the press which he had put together in 1638 with rawhide when it broke down under the pressure of the work on the Indian Bible.

One of Day's depositions touched Dunster personally, for it declared that the President had in his house a clock that had belonged to the Glover family. Dunster replied:

That he never had or saw the Clocke that Mr Daye gave in testimony about, and that therein he spake seriously & truly, for Mr Dayes soules good.

There is a fair probability that Steven Day was never inside either the Glover or Dunster house. Dunster also acknowledged that he had taken twelve reams of paper when he moved out of the house on the College grounds, but he added the word "refuse" before paper, which is easy to believe if this was what was left of the shipment that came on the *John of London* fifteen years before. The printer who was quoted by Day as his authority must have been Samuel Green, who apparently changed his opinion after conferring with the representative of the plaintiffs, for the latter noted that "Bro: Green thinks about 30. Reame paper left."

The jury likewise discounted other statements submitted by the witnesses for the prosecution. In a summary of the account between Dunster and the estate which appears to have been drawn up by the latter's attorneys, is the entry: "To printing presse & paper . . . 050:00:00." In the acknowledgment which Dunster delivered to Hibbens and Lowell is a corresponding entry: "That the presse was vallued at 20li by Mr Winslow." This last figure agrees with that in one of Day's depositions:

I Steven Day aged 62 years do attest that the Charges wch Mr Glover Expended in Engl. for the procuring of the printinge presse, was besides fraeght & other petty expenses at least Twenty poundes, the wch presse hath been improved by order of Mr Dunster, as appeareth by another testimony I have

given in, also I do attest that the same materials that were brought over hither as above said are worth in this place at least 40li.

Sworne in Court. 2.(2) 56.

Tho: Danforth Recorder.

The above statement presumably covered Glover's purchases of printing material so far as known to Day. The phrase he used justifies a suspicion that it refers to the press used for impressions, with incidental supplies, and not to the equipment of the whole establishment. When the jury came to this item they entered in their summary of the case: "The presse & the proffitts of it 40-0-0." They had before them the estimate of the profits that had been sworn to by Day:

Wee whose names are under written, being desired to give an acct of the revenews of the printing presse, dureing the time it was improved by Mr Dunster, and for that end haveing spent some time togethr to recount the sevrall impressions that have gone forth from the same dureing the time that Mr Dunster had the dispose thereof. We do find that a Just allowance being given for the hire of the labrers about ye presse, (or at least such as was allowed to the printers): and for the paper with other smal expences for vtinsels about the presse: the remainder of the profits doth amount to about .192lb:00s:00d. wch we do conceive is rather lesse then otherwise and this we conceive to be the truth according to o'r best knowledge, being imployed about the workes and in witnes do subscribe o'r names, this .26.11.mo.1655. [i.e. 26 January, 1656 New Style.]

Steven Day

Sworne in Court by Steven Day.

2.(2) 56 [April 2.]

Samuel Green

Tho: Danforth Recorder.

The words preceding the parenthesis in the above document are interesting because they confirm the deduction drawn from the actual work that has survived, that there was hired help employed for the printing operations. The parenthesis is likewise interesting because it contains another curious bit of evidence that there is nothing new in the feeling among workmen that they do not get paid as much as they deserve or as their employers ought to give them.

"The remainder of the profits . . . wch we do conceive is rather lesse then otherwise" provides a link to another more important document which reveals what took place when Day and Green "spent some time together."

FIRSTHAND EVIDENCE

Steven Day and Samuel Green on January 26, 1655/6 signed the document declaring that they had spent some time together to recount the several impressions of the Cambridge Press which they conceived had yielded a profit of more than £192. There is another document in the Harvard archives which was not offered as evidence in the Glover-Dunster proceedings, which shows what happened when Day and Green spent their time together. It contains the exact data taken down from their recollections by the attorney representing the Glovers while he was questioning the two witnesses for the purpose of preparing the case for the prosecution. He got what he wanted and from this data prepared the document that Steven Day swore to on April 2. There is no reason why the other document which supplied the figures from which the total profit was calculated should have been preserved and nothing to show how it happened to be preserved until it reached the Harvard archives.

The document that gives the data relating to the Press has been referred to herein as the List of 1655/6. It lists with unimportant exceptions the titles produced by the Press from 1638 to 1654, in most cases giving the size of the book and of the edition, the selling price, the amount claimed to have been realized from the sales, the amount of paper that would have been required and what it would have cost, and the sum paid for the printing. The value of the paper and cost of printing is subtracted from the amount realized from sales and the balance is carried to a column on the last page of the document which adds up to 192:12:01, which shows where "the profits . . . 192:00:00 . . . rather less than otherwise" came from.

This list is the first bibliography of the Press and the most informative that has yet appeared. The information came from the two men who at that time knew more than anybody else, then or afterward, about its actual operations. The information they supplied was not always accurate, but this has sometimes been true of other bibliographical and eyewitness statements.

The document is written on one side of a single sheet which had been folded to quarto size. The writer, who was not Day or Green, headed the outer page of the fold "freemens oath." Below this are figures for "psa. booke, The Capitall Laws, the spelling booke, the declaration, the Law Booke, mr Norrice Katechisme, Almanacks and Thesis," each of which

has been discussed in previous chapters. After writing the first two lines of the data for the BAY PSALM BOOK the writer turned the fold and on the other outside page put down a little figuring that is as helpful now as it was then. He multiplied 17 by 8 and added 5:13:4 (which he got without help); this gave 141:13:4 which went down in the third line on the first page as the gross receipts from the sale of 1,700 copies of the Psalms at 20 pence or one shilling eight pence each. From this sum he deducted 33:00:00 for printing. He had already entered 33 sheets as the size of a copy of the book. These numbers show how the rest of the document was calculated. Other entries confirm the assumption that the 33:00:00 came from the number of sheets at a basic rate of a pound a sheet for printing. This creates a doubt on all the subsequent entries for receipts and costs.

If the rate for printing was a pound a sheet, the cost for printing the BAY PSALM BOOK should have been £37:00:00, for 37 is the number of sheets in copies of that book. The gross receipts are equally suspect, because if the Press received twenty pence wholesale for all the copies, the retail price in Boston would have had to be more than three shillings unbound, which is more than a book of this size and character would have commanded at that time. It is less clear how the amount of paper used fifteen years before was calculated. The 1,700 copies, if there had been 33 sheets, could have been done without any margin for waste and overrun, with 113 reams, whereas the charge is for 116; actually the 37 sheets of the BAY PSALM BOOK must have required more than 126 reams.

Further considerations throw suspicion on the dependability of this document. The Psalm Book figures gave 79:13:09 which was carried to the column which added up to £192 as the sum to be claimed by the Glover heirs as profits pocketed by Dunster. No notice was taken of the pertinent facts that these figures relate to a publication dated 1640 and that Henry Dunster arrived in New England in August of that year and did not marry the possessor of the Press until the next year. It does not follow that the figures supplied by Day and Green are wholly without value. Steven Day's information may have been untrustworthy but the figures he gave must have approximated what others would have considered probable. On the other hand, if Green's data was inaccurate it must have been because he forgot or did not know the details of the business that he was conducting.

The accountant completed the entries on the first page without further use of this paper as a scratch pad. He then turned or more likely opened

the fold and headed the facing page "printed by mr Day." Below this he arranged the figures from the first page in several columns, assembling the net proceeds and the charges for paper and printing, apparently having difficulty in getting the result he was after. He finally decided on 114:12:01 as the amount to be charged against Dunster for the work done by Day. At the bottom of this page he entered a memorandum, "Bro: Green thinks about 30 Rheam paper left. 07:10:00." This amount was figured at the rate of five shillings a ream used in other calculations. This amount does not appear in the charges against Dunster, possibly through an oversight.

Having finished with Mr. Day, the fold was reversed to bring the inside pages outside and the upper one was headed "By Bro: Greene." The change in the form of address is noticeable. It may suggest that Steven Day, the locksmith turned foundryman and prospector, was not wholly accepted as one of the brethren although his business affiliations with the Winthrop family assured him of a respectful regard. Brother Green never left any room for doubting his standing in the community. Below his name are the entries for "the Sinod booke, mr Davenports Katechesm, the psalm Booke [of 1651], [Supplementary] Lawes, mr Mathers booke, and Indian primer," each of which will be discussed in the following chapters. The entire document is reprinted here because, whatever its shortcomings, it will always be the beginning of American bibliography, supplying invaluable information of a sort that has not been found in any subsequent work of comparable scope.

☞ This document probably reached the Harvard archives as part of a collection of similar material gathered by Professor Benjamin Pierce while preparing to write his *History of Harvard* published in 1836. It was printed by Andrew McFarland Davis in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for 1888; reprinted with a reduced facsimile in *The Library*, London, The Bibliographical Society, June 1939. There is no reason to suppose that this was ever deposited by the Glover attorneys, Hibbens and Lowell, with other papers relating to the case, some of which are still in the files of the Middlesex County, Massachusetts, court. Two of the depositions sworn to by Steven Day are in the Harvard archives, with other papers that may have been preserved by descendants of Glover until acquired by Professor Pierce.

THE TEXT OF THE DOCUMENT.

ffreemens oath.

psa. booke.

33. sheets.	1700.	Collated.	
sold at 20 ^d . a poece.			141 ^{lb} . 13.04
to abate for printing.	.	.	33:00:00
			<u>108:13:04</u>
spent 116 Rheam pap ^r .			
worth 5 ^s . a Rheam			029:00:00
	79:13:04		<u>79:13:04</u>

The Capital Lawes.	}	these might take 7: Rheam	
The spelling booke		of paper.	(warr.
the declaraciō		of the	Narroganset

1648:

the Law Booke.	17 : sheets	600:	Collated.
sould at 17 ^d . a booke .	.	.	42. 10 :00
to abate for printing.	.	.	<u>15-16-03</u>
spent 21. Rheam of			26:13:09
papr. 05 ^{lb} . 05:00. .	.	.	<u>05:05:00</u>
	21.08.09		<u>21:08:09</u>
mr Norrice Katechisme .	.	.	<u>07-10-00</u>
about 3. Rheam pap ^r	01-00-00
to abate for printing.	.	.	<u>03-00-00</u>
	03:10:00:		<u>03. 10 00</u>
			79-13-04
Almanacks and Thesis.			21. 8- 9
5. Rheam paper.			104:12:01

printed [b]y m^r Day

psa. Booke.	141.-13- 4	paper.	29: 0: 0
Law. Booke	042-10- 0		5: 5: 0
m ^r Norrices	07-10- 0		1: 0. 0
	<hr/>	pap ^r .	35: 5: 0
	191:13: 4		3: 5:00
	87:01: 3	printing.	33. 0. 0
Remaines	104:12: 1		15.16. 3
Capl. Lawes	} 10:00:00		13. 0. 0
Spelling booke			61:16: 3
Narrogansets.			35:05: 0
	<hr/>		97.01. 3
paper.	02:00:00		10.00:00
	11[2]:12:00		97:01.03 [sic]
	Extract. to m ^r Dunster.	114.12. 1.	
	to. printing.	67:00:00	
	to pap ^r .	37:05:00	
		<hr/>	248:17 01
17		paper.	38.10.00.
8		print.	61.16.03
<hr/> 136			100:06:03
5 13:4			
<hr/> 141 13-4		m ^r Dunster.	114.12.01
			<hr/> 214:18.04.
Bro: Green thinks about	}		07:10:00.
30. Rheam paper left.			

By Bro: Greene.

Sinod booke. he had of Bro: Green	}	12:00:00
finding pap ^r . for y ^e impression.		
abate for paper. 6 Rheame $\frac{1}{4}$.		<u>02:05:00</u>
Rest. -09.15.00		09:15 00
m ^r Davenports Katechesm.		<u>10.00.00</u>
abate for printing. & paper.		<u>06:00:00</u>
Rest. -04:00.00		04.00.00
& a 100. bookes. 1.00:00		<u>05:00:00</u>

the psalm Booke: 2000. bookes 12. sheets		
at .12 ^d . a booke. to m ^r Vsher. & 15 ^d . the other 1000.		
to M ^r Whaley Lion & Brooke.		<u>112:10.00</u>
abate for printing.		40.00.00
for paper.		<u>30.00.00</u>
Rest. 42.10:00:		42.10.00
but y ^e prenter sayth he gott. 50 th by y ^e		
psalms. besides the bookes he gave away.		

Lawes. 5. sheets	12.00.00
abate for paper.	01-05. 0
for print.	<u>5.00- 0</u>
05.15.00.	05.15 0
m ^r Mathers booke. 7 sheets & $\frac{1}{2}$	
for the whole.	18.00.00
abate for printing. 9:00:00:	<u>11 05. 0</u>
for paper . . 2.05:00	06 15: 0
11.05:00	
Rest. .6-15.00.	
Indian primer.	10.00.00
to the printer 6.00.00.	
paper. . . 0 15.00	
6.15 00	
Rest: 3:05.00.	

Almanacks & thesis .5. yeare.
 for the Almanacks 13^a 4^d p Ann^o.
 the whole 5th.

	78.00.00.
9-15- 0	<u>114.12.01.</u>
5-00- 0	192:12:01
42.10- 0	
5-15- 0	
6-15- 0	
3-05- 0	
<u>5-00- 0</u>	
78.00:00	

CHAPTER VIII

THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

HELP FROM ON HIGH

UNDERLYING most of the difficulties which harassed the responsible officials of the Massachusetts Bay Colony during the middle years of the decade following the year 1640 was the impossibility of knowing what had taken place in England since the date of the latest news that had arrived from overseas. Many things were happening there. It was almost always twelve and often more than twenty weeks between the writing of a news-letter on either side of the Atlantic and the receipt of a reply with the instructions or advice influenced by that news. At any moment there might be a vital need for the presence in London of someone who could decide with confidence and authority questions of immediate as well as lasting importance, with assurance that he would be supported by those whom he represented. Edward Winslow of Plymouth was selected to take this position. There was no other person in New England at that time who would have commanded equal general confidence. There was nobody who could have executed the mission as successfully as he did. He never returned to the colony because Cromwell recognized his ability and commandeered his services for work of greater responsibility, as it seemed then, in the West Indies, where he died in 1655.

Edward Winslow went to London with a double task. His primary occupation was that of a watchdog, to keep an eye on whatever was happening that might affect the colonists. He was charged particularly with counteracting the machinations of disgruntled visitors who had returned to England intent on getting even with the colonial authorities who had manifested disapproval of their actions or opinions. Equally important was the commission to do whatever seemed likely to promote a revival of prosperity. The hopes that had been entertained when Hugh Peter and Thomas Weld went home had been disappointed and the lack of money was still a pressing need. This became increasingly urgent as the extension of commercial intercourse with the Indies and the Continent demanded working capital and wider credit to supplement barter. Wins-

low undertook to supply this need with an idea which he must have known offered prospects of advantageous results. He cannot have guessed that he was tapping a flood-stream which created a pool of invested capital that refreshed the New England metropolis for a century and a third, and to this day continues to trickle bounteously into parts adjacent. This idea was to organize the latent desire of devout English nonconformists to give of their surplus to encourage efforts to save the souls of the American heathen.

Winslow and those who advised him knew that there was a widespread longing throughout the English countryside, as well as in the larger centers, to seek relief in pious deeds from the anxieties engendered by the uneasy political situations. For one thing, those who had only a hazy notion of the actual course of international events were worried by reports that the missionaries sent overseas by England's traditional enemy, Spain, had won unnumbered converts to their faith, threatening to create a vast body of adherents to Romanism who would overwhelm the Protestant settlers whenever the two came into contact. There was a more immediate anxiety over the way things were developing at home. As the Parliamentary party gained an ascendancy, its control passed into the hands of narrow sectaries to an extent that caused grave worries among those who had been the most dependable supporters of the movement that had overthrown the Episcopate. As always, the large majority of English folk were afraid of extremes. When they found that extremists were taking charge of the government, many of them sought emotional relief in spiritual comforters. Edward Winslow must have been as surprised as anybody when it developed that he had created a medium which provided that comfort through the giving of money to Christianize the natives of New England. He would have been more surprised if he could have learned that the principal result for his generation was to be the keeping of the Cambridge Press active for more than thirty of its remaining forty-two years.

It is more than likely that Winslow never told anybody in New England, and that nobody ever asked him, who the men and women were with whom he talked or what was said by and to him, during the weeks following his arrival in the Mother Country. All that can now be known is that it came to pass that on July 27, 1649 the Parliament enacted "An Act for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." This Act, whose provisions are in force to this day with certain modifications, provided that sixteen persons were to be a self-

perpetuating Corporation in England, with the right to purchase or acquire lands, tenements, or hereditaments not exceeding the yearly value of two thousand pounds. The doings of that Corporation will figure largely in the remainder of this narrative. The Parliament also voted:

to recommend the furthering thereof to the charity of all whose hearts God shall incline thereunto And that a general collection be made for the purposes aforesaid in and through all the Counties, Cities, Towns and Parishes of England and Wales, and . . . That the several Ministers within the said several places, are hereby required to read this Act . . . in the presence of their several Congregations . . . and to exhort the people to a chearful and liberal contribution . . . And the Ministers and Church-Wardens, or Overseers of the Poor . . . together with such other well-affected persons as God shall stir up to be active in such an undertaking . . . to go with all convenient speed from house to house, to every of the Inhabitants of the said Parishes and places respectively, to take the subscription of every such person in a schedule to be presented to them for that purpose, and accordingly at the same time to collect and gather the same.

The officials of the infant Corporation acted promptly and efficiently. Measures were taken to make certain that the requirements of the Act were brought to the attention of everyone concerned, that the provisions were complied with, and the results reported, and transmitted, to the Corporation. These results in ten years amounted to £15,376:01:04, to which were added £1,241:19:01 that came in as personal contributions from individuals. Of this capital fund, £11,957:15:04 was invested in landed property, much of it being paid for the estate of Colonel Beddingfield, who was in attendance on the absentee King Charles II. Colonel Beddingfield's expectations of recovering his ancestral estate after the Restoration failed to overthrow the legal title which he had given when he accepted the purchase price, and the rentals of the tenants, after their doubts were settled by the law courts, continued to be devoted to the furtherance of the purposes specified in the Act. The estate remained in the possession of the Corporation, long known as the New England Company, until late in the nineteenth century. Then it passed, at a price, to another kind of Indian, a Rajah who had been led to reside in England for the best interests of his native country. When last heard from, the capital of the Company stood on its books as £149,198, and this yielded an annual revenue of about £4,500, which was expended to support missionary workers in the British dominion next adjacent to New England.

The words "next adjacent" were inserted in the phrasing of the Act of 1649 when the restoration of Charles II made it necessary to secure a new charter. This was procured, not without difficulty, partly with the help of these words which would have legalized the diversion of the funds to support missionaries working in the territory which the King's brother had renamed for himself, New York. An occasional dribble went that way, but most of the income continued to pass through the hands of Boston merchants until the American Revolution. After the members of the London Corporation accepted the results of that conflict, they declined to forget it, as the New Englanders desired, and decided that New Brunswick was then next adjacent to New England. Their successors are still acting in accordance with that decision.

The Act of 1649 also provided that the money collected in England should be disbursed in New England by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, the four groups of orthodox settlements that centered on Boston, Plymouth, New Haven, and Hartford. These four had joined forces in 1643 in order to deal as a unit with their native neighbors, and they continued to maintain a common administrative body for forty years, until it was certain that these neighbors no longer required serious attention. During the middle decades of the seventeenth century the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England comprised the best in the settlements of public spirit and administrative intelligence. This area has never since had any group that for so long a period was composed of men of higher ability more consistently devoted to the public weal.

☞ The extracts from letters and other records on the following pages are mostly a patchwork pieced together from what remains of the documents that originated with the Corporation of the New England Company in London and its agents the Commissioners of the United Colonies in America. The Corporation employed a clerk who kept a minute book in which he noted, while the members were meeting, the proceedings which seemed to him important. The first entry in the book which survives was made on January 19, 1655/6 and the last on February 4, 1685/6. About 1865 it came into the possession of Henry Stevens, the London dealer in American books, who sold it at auction in Boston in 1870. It disappeared into the library of a Boston collector where it was found in 1915 and printed as a publication of the Prince Society of that city in 1920 as *The New England Company of 1649 and John Eliot*. The same volume prints the ledger kept by the treasurer of that company for the years from 1650 to 1664. During the confusion of plague and fire it went astray until 1688, when its blank pages were used to record various indentures relating to land in a county in New Jersey, which led to its preservation in

the archives of that state, where its New England interest was recognized in 1890, as described in *Scribner's Magazine* for March 1898. A few of the original letters and drafts of replies remained in the files of the Company in London, to be printed by it in 1896 as *Some Correspondence between the Governors and Treasurers of the New England Company and the Commissioners, Missionaries and others, 1657-1712*.

☞ The letters received from London and drafts of replies were undoubtedly kept with the papers of the Massachusetts Commissioners until destroyed in one of the Boston fires. Luckily the arrangement by which this body met in rotation at the four colonial centers made it necessary to keep the record of its actions at each of these, and the Plymouth and Hartford incomplete copies survive. That of Plymouth was printed in a volume of the *Massachusetts Colony Records*, Boston 1859, and of Hartford in 1857. Both of these were transcripts from the official record kept by the regular clerk of the Commissioners, made by persons of limited intelligence and erratic linguistic habits even for that time. Their copies of letters from London and of the drafts approved for the replies unquestionably do not reproduce the spelling or the grammar of the letters which were signed at London and Boston. But these copies are all that remain and the conscientious researcher presents them as he finds them.

☞ Most but not quite all of the extracts from these documents were brought together by Wilberforce Eames in his notes to the titles of John Eliot's publications in James Constantine Pilling's *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages*, Washington, Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, 1891; issued separately as *Bibliographic Notes on Eliot's Indian Bible and on his Other Translations and Works in the Indian Language of Massachusetts*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1890.

AN APOSTLE TO THE INDIANS

The Corporation in London and the Commissioners overseas very quickly learned that despite their chartered obligations they were not to use their own judgment in deciding how to employ the charitably intended money to further the Christianizing of the Indians. John Eliot and his allies in the Mother Country had their own ideas of how this money should be spent, and they knew how to have their own way. There were a few conferences on the subject, but for the most part decisions were reached through the medium of correspondence. Eliot and his friends had been exchanging letters ever since the publication of *New England's First Fruits* in 1643, and when there were disagreements they had the considerable advantage of holding well-considered opinions clearly understood and agreed upon at both ends. In London Winslow

gave place to the Corporation, which was represented by its secretary or president in the official correspondence with the Commissioners in New England. The members of the Corporation met when they were notified that a letter had arrived from the Bay and considered what they should write in reply. The Commissioners on the other hand met once a year in September, at the four colonial centers in rotation. Between these annual meetings the Commissioners for Massachusetts assumed the responsibility for deciding routine questions as they arose.

There were thus two parallel currents regularly passing to and fro across the Atlantic. These were as regularly stirred by unofficial go-betweens who carried messages and gossip reports between Eliot's correspondents and the members of the Corporation, and more often gossip than messages between the two sides of the Atlantic. The London officials were merchant princes; nearly all of them were engaged in trade with the Bay settlements. Part of the business of their shipmasters and supercargoes was to bring back first-hand reports on whatever was doing or said at Boston or Salem. If dockside gossip joked about the kind of Indians that the pious were trying to save, it was repeated, perhaps apologetically, ten weeks later in a London counting house.

In all probability John Eliot knew more about the success of the movement to raise funds for converting the natives, and knew it sooner, than the merchants on the Boston wharves or the councillors at the Town House. His correspondents not only kept him informed but they anticipated him in reminding the members of the Corporation that he was available as the readiest means of accomplishing the ends for which the money was being collected.

The Commissioners held their first meeting after receiving the notification of their responsibilities under the act of July 27, 1649, in September a year later at Hartford. After expressing a due sense of gratitude for this great "labour of love," they suggested that "no time may be let slip but the means advanced for the work may be employed in it for the first and best advantage." They added that "what money is already collected upon that account we cannot conjecture, but if yourself (the President) and those worthy gentlemen your assistants concur, we desire" that £100 be allowed Winslow for his expenses and encouragement, besides £100 to be sent "hither in such commodities as may suit the end propounded." As for Eliot and his fellow laborer in the native vineyard, "if you please for their encouragement and some necessary helps

for the Indians to pay the assigns of Mr. Eliot the sum of One Hundred Pounds more we hope it will prove a real furtherance to the service." The Corporation replied on the following April 17, 1651:

We are glad to see your care in giving direction . . . however we are not in a capacity to send so much at present having newly begun the collection and very little moneys come in as yet . . . We hope by the next ship we shall be able to send you some woollen shoes and stockings according to your direction or at least according to our abilitie for we find the proceeds of the collection goes slowly on both in City and country and that it will be long work.

There was an added warning to the Commissioners that they were not to have the spending of all the money that came in, as the Londoners intended "that so the Principal be not eat up as it comes but some money be laid out to purchase a standing revenue." The treasurer's summary shows that up to March 1653 there was received £4,582, and that of this £320:19:05 was laid out for sequestered royalist property "By Fee Farm Rents bought of the State and paid for including Charges." In the letter from London of April 1651 there was another request, that the Commissioners send an estimate of the cost of various undertakings that had been proposed so that it might be known "what the charge of all this will amount to at first and what to maintain per annum from time to time so that we may here improve what the Lord shall send in, to the best advantage." The foresight of the City magnates was justified by events. The money which they kept in their own control is drawing an income to carry on the work nearly three centuries later, while a portion of the capital fund which they entrusted to their New England associates for investment in the colony, where the income was to be used, could not be recovered within a single decade.

Meanwhile Eliot had not been neglectful of the prospective opportunities to do the Lord's work. Although the departure of his colleague Thomas Weld in 1641 had left him with all of the parish duties of the Roxbury church, he had added the native denizens of the neighborhood to those to whom he ministered. The nearest Indian settlement was in what is now Newton, and there Eliot preached to them in English until, by 1646, he acquired a sufficient confidence in his command of the native speech to expound passages from the Scriptures in their language. The punitive expedition to which the DECLARATION OF FORMER PASSAGES referred had brought back a youth whose services were allotted to the Roxbury clergyman. This boy had been born on Long Island, so that

he was acquainted with his own tribal speech as well as that of the mainland natives from whom he had been taken. He proved to be an intelligent lad and from him his new master acquired a fluency that enabled him to converse with the Indians living about Boston. Eliot had shown an aptitude for linguistic studies during his student days and at the University he devoted himself to the mastery of the Hebrew tongue. When he turned to the acquisition of that of the American natives, he found it possible to develop their grammatical usages in accordance with the more sophisticated Semitic practice, with results that satisfied him for the rest of his life.

Eliot had been devoting himself zealously to his labors as an apostle to the Indians for three years when the opportunity opened to him of utilizing his command of the native tongue by writing for publication. That he had a foreknowledge of what was in the wind is shown by a letter which he addressed to Winslow, dated July 8, 1649. His information must have left London before the first of the preceding May. He wrote:

I do very much desire to translate some parts of the Scripture into their language, and to print some Primer in their language wherein to initiate and teach them to read, which some of the men do much also desire; and printing such a thing will be troublesome and chargeable, and I having yet but little skill in their language (having little leasure to attend it by reason of my continual attendance on my Ministry in our own Church) I must have some Indians, and it may be other help continually about me to try and examine Translations, which I look at as a sacred and holy work, and to be regarded with much fear, care, and reverence; and all this is chargeable therefore I look at that as a special matter on which cost is to be bestowed, if the Lord provide means, for I have not means of my own for it.

Subsequent letters told of successes in interesting the natives in learning to read and write, and late in 1651 he explained:

that so they may be able to write for themselves such Scriptures as I have already, or hereafter may (by the blessing of God) translate for them, for I have no hope to see the Bible translated, much less Printed in my dayes.

RIVAL CATECHISMS

Eliot went ahead with his plans confidently. A letter from the Commissioners to Winslow dated September 24, 1653 implies that Eliot had made arrangements with the printer without bothering to consult them, knowing that they would have to pay for whatever he ordered:

Mr. Eliot is preparing to print a Cattichisme of the Indian langwige which wee shall further (as wee may) by disbursing the charge of paper and printing out of the stock but by some due allowance shall Indeavor to Incurrage Thomas Stanton to assist in the worke; who is the most able Interpreter wee have in the countrey for that Langwige that the worke may bee the more perfectly carried on; Wee have advised Mr Eliot etcet: that if heerafter they publish anything about the worke of God upon the Indians they send it to the Corporation and leave the dedication to them which wee hope will be attended.

It is left to the two Commissioners for the Massachusetts to give order for the printing of five hundred or a Thousand Catechismes in the Indian langwige and to allow paper and the charge of printing: and that the worke may bee carried on the more exactly and to better satisfaction It is ordered that Thomas Stanton's healp be used in the same.

The reference to Stanton is significant. It shows that from the beginning those who were best informed about affairs had doubts regarding Eliot's mastery of the language into which he was courageously and confidently translating the Word of God. Stanton was a frontiersman who made his headquarters in the Narragansett country, trafficking with the natives who lived west of the bay of that name. The English authorities repeatedly had occasion to realize that he possessed an unusual understanding of what the natives thought as well as what they said. He was highly valued as an irreplaceable intermediary who had proved himself in many delicate negotiations. He did not, however, possess an equally sympathetic appreciation of the thoughts and aspirations of the Apostle and those who supported Eliot in what he desired to convey to the heathen. Even the Commissioners, who were worldly-wise men of affairs, occasionally found both the form and the substance of Stanton's language inconsistent with a proper regard for their own dignity. As a collaborator in the delicate task of expressing in a language hitherto unwritten what the words of the Sacred Scriptures meant to a seventeenth-century Protestant divine, Stanton lacked essential qualifications. The persistence of the Commissioners in trying to utilize his knowledge culminated in an interview before them at which Stanton was asked to express his opinion of Eliot's translation in the presence of the translator and other local clergymen. The frontiersman's opening remarks led the ministers to leave the room abruptly, sending back word that never again would they permit him to enter their presence. The civil authorities could not dispense with his services so easily. Within a decade the Commissioners paid for printing another catechism adapted with Stanton's help for the use of the natives living near New Haven.

"One catechism is already printed," the Commissioners reported on September 25, 1654. A manuscript copy of this had been in use since 1651 by the native teacher of the converts gathered by Eliot in his neighborhood. The printed edition was listed by Green in 1655/6 as a Primer, stating that the charge for it was £10, of which £6 went to the printer and 15 shillings for paper, leaving £3:05:00 as profit. These figures presumably mean that three reams of paper were required for 500 copies of three sheets each and that the printer's charge was two pounds per sheet. This would have been twice the charge per sheet for other work, but it could have been justified by the unusual difficulties of this first attempt at a publication in the Indian language. It was in all probability a 16mo or small octavo with 16 pages on each side of a sheet, imposed so that the sheet could be cut in half before folding for sewing. This would have given a catechism of nearly a hundred pages, in a type suitable for beginners.

The copies of the 1654 Primer sufficed until 1661, when the Commissioners directed Usher to take order for printing a thousand copies of Mr. Eliot's Catechism. Usher's account submitted a year later contains an entry; "To printing 1500 Catechisms, £15." This charge compares with £10 for printing one-third as many copies in 1654, which could be explained by the lower charge for presswork and more familiarity with the language. As the College received nothing for the use of its property when engaged on the Indian work, any profit in this presumably went to Green. The paper was taken out of the supply sent from London for the Bible and was accounted for by Green in 1663.

The terms Catechism and Primer were used interchangeably, depending upon who was being addressed. The work was printed again in 1669 and a copy of this edition is in the library of the University of Edinburgh, to which it was given in 1675. It is a 16mo of four sheets, 64 leaves, the type page measuring about $3\frac{1}{4}$ by 2 inches. The title, which might have been composed for the copies that were to be sent to the patrons of the undertaking in England, reads:

THE INDIAN PRIMER; or, The way of training up of our Indian Youth in the good knowledge of God, in the knowledge of the Scripture, and in an ability to Reade. Composed by J. E. Cambridge, Printed 1669.

The body of the work is in Indian throughout, except the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, many of the headings, and the names of the books of the Bible. This is the earliest extant primer printed in New England,

and its contents may be the same as those of the *New England Primer* when it was first printed in all probability at London.

A new edition was needed after the Indian war. On August 29, 1686 Eliot wrote to Robert Boyle, who had supplied the funds for a second printing of the Indian Bible:

My humble request to your honour is, that we may again reimpose the primer and catechism; for though the last impression be not quite spent, yet quickly they will; and I am old, ready to be gone, and desire to leave as many books as I can.

Boyle's reply has not been found, but an imperfect copy of an Indian Primer without a title leaf, at the Massachusetts Historical Society, may have been printed at this time. An inscription no longer legible was said by J. Hammond Trumbull to be in Thomas Prince's handwriting and to read "Mr. B. Green says, composed by Mr. Eliot, & Printed at Camb. abt 1684." It appears to have been complete in 40 leaves folded in eights, the leaves the same size as those of the 1669 edition with which the contents agree.

"One catechism is already printed and Mr Person is preparing another to suit these southwest parts where the language differs from theirs who live about the Massachusetts," the Commissioners wrote in 1654. In September 1656 they received:

some pte of a Cattichisme by him framed and propounded to convince the Indians by the light of Nature & Reason that there is onely one God who hath made and Governeth all things &c . . . was considered and advised that it bee perfected and turned into the Narragansett or Pequott language that it may bee the better understood by the Indians in all ptes of the Countrey and for that purpose they spake with and desired Tho. Stanton to advise with Mr Pearson about a fitt Season to meet and Translate the same accordingly without any unnesesary delay that it may bee fitted for and sent to the press and they promised him due Satisfaction for his time and paines; it was agreed that Mr Pearson bee allowed fifteen pounds for his paines hee shall take in this worke the yeare Insuing.

The manuscript was submitted a year later and the Commissioners took the precaution to have it transcribed before sending it to London to be printed in an edition of 1,500 copies. The vessel that carried it never arrived, as they learned from a letter dated the next April 30.

On September 16, 1658 the Commissioners caught a mail boat with a letter stating that Peirson was "repairing his catechism for the press and is expected every day." Six days later they wrote again:

By our last of the 16th Instant wee certified you of our purpose to send Mr Persons Caticisme by the first oppertunitie to bee printed in England since which time it is come to our hands but upon further consideration in regard of the hazard of sending and difficultie of true printing it without a fitt overseer of the presse by one skilled in the language wee have chosen rather to have it printed heer and accordingly have taken order for the same and hope it wilbee finished within three months.

Three months later, on December 28, one sheet had been "wrought off from the press" and a specimen of this was enclosed with the material prepared by Eliot for the tract entitled *A Further Accompt of the Progressse of the Gospel amongst the Indians*, which was sent from Boston on that date. These pages of Peirson's Catechism were reprinted "for publicke satisfaction" in that tract. Eight months later, on September 7, 1659 the Commissioners wrote from Hartford:

We have ordered Mr Usher to send you forty Copyes of Mr Piersons Caticisme if finished before the shipes sett sayle; but feare by reason of Mr. Piersons sicknes the worke may have bin retarded; and we and you suffer a disapointment; but wee shall endeavor by the next to satisfy your expectations therein.

Evidently the printer's report to the Massachusetts Commissioners before they started for the Hartford meeting had not been very hopeful. This catechism made an octavo booklet of 67 pages, 4½ folds marked A-D in eights and E in four. The title is dated 1658 and reads:

SOME HELPS FOR THE INDIANS Shewing them How to improve their natural Reason, To know the True God, and the true Christian Religion. 1. By leading them to see the Divine Authority of the Scriptures. 2. By the Scriptures the Divine Truths necessary to Eternal Salvation. Undertaken At the Motion, and published by the Order of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. by Abraham Peirson. Examined, and approved by Thomas Stanton Interpreter-General to the United Colonies for the Indian Language, and by some others of the most able Interpreters amogst [*sic*] us. Cambridg, Printed by Samuel Green 1658.

Thirty years later misprints on Green's title pages are ascribed to an Indian typesetter, but in 1658 this native assistant had not yet been given to the Press. Stanton had been promised in 1656 due satisfaction for helping Peirson, but a year later the Commissioners were surprised, as they wrote to the Corporation, by reports that:

wee heare that Thomas Stanton is taken notice of [in London] and possibly recorded as a very able Interpreter for the Indian language which is certainly true, and that a salarie of 50 lb. per annum is appointed for him in England which hee may take up heer and charge upon you. This may bee a mistake but if true wee marvel at it; the Commissioners doe Employ him as Interpreter betwixt themselves and the Indians in civill occations of the Colonies and doe afford him convenient recompence for the same.

This matter came up again in September 1660 when:

forasmuch as some of the Tribute is now seased; and the Rest brought in by the Indians themselves as it hath been for some years past, the Commissioners thought a lesse sallary might bee a sufficient Recompence for the yeare past and soe for the time to come; and therefore tendered him the sume of ten pounds for this yeare Intimateing to doe the like heerafter onely for his attending the Commissioners meetings; and for other Services to allow him proportionable as hee shalbee Employed which hee not accepting the Commissioners payed him his former sallary of thirty pounds; but declared they were not willing to bee att the like charge for the time to come; and therfore left it to him to doe as hee should see cause.

In September 1659 the Peirson Catechism was so nearly done that the Commissioners authorized the payment "To Mr Green for printing the Psalms and Mr Piersons Catichisme. . . . 40l." Doubtless they had good reason a year later for voting:

The Commissioners for the Massachusetts are desired and Impowered to accoumpt with Mr Green for the forty pounds payed him the last yeare on account for printing Mr Peirsons Cattachisme and the Psalmes.

In their treasurer's account submitted in September 1661 is the complementary entry:

Item by discount with Mr Green over paid on account of printing Mr Peirsons Catechisme 5l.

The New York Public Library possesses the only copy recorded of the Peirson-Stanton title page quoted above. The catechism has a second title on which the English words are interlined in smaller type with the corresponding native terms, and this may have been the only title in copies that were distributed to converts. The same bilingual device was employed for the text to facilitate the learning of either language by those familiar with the other. It had been used by Eliot when he began

his translation of Genesis, but the added cost and bulk doubtless led to its abandonment.

The British Museum has a copy of the Peirson Catechism with the identical text leaves but a different printed title inserted in place of that with Stanton's name. The type shows clearly that this title was not done in America. The imprint reads "Printed for" instead of by Samuel Green, and the author is given as:

By Abraham Peirson Pastor of the Church at Branford. Examined and approved by that Experienced Gentleman (in the Indian Language) Captain John Scot.

In all probability Scot had this title printed in England and inserted it in copies of the book which he planned to give to persons whom he wished to impress when he was in London after the Restoration. He had led a checkered career on both sides of the Atlantic and at this time was engaged on schemes to secure from the Crown a grant of the whole of Long Island.

☞ A type facsimile of the 1669 INDIAN PRIMER was issued by John Small, the librarian of Edinburgh University, in 1877 and reissued in 1880 with an additional facsimile of the Indian CONFESSION which had been found in that library after the first publication.

☞ A detailed account of the dealings of the Commissioners with Peirson and Stanton and of John Scot's career as an international crook was contributed by Wilberforce Eames to J. C. Pilling's *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages*. Washington 1891.

THE INDIAN COLLEGE

About the time that Matthew Day died in May 1649 and possibly in some way connected with the changes inevitably attendant upon that event, the House of Deputies, which represented the suspiciously conservative element in the Massachusetts colony, passed a motion to guard against any undesired use of the printing facilities. The evidence for this attempt to introduce censorship is an undated document found in the archives, which contains names that did not come together in the given positions at any time except in May 1649.

For as much as Severall inconveniencies may acrow to the Commonwealth by ye liberty of ye pres this Cort doth heerby order yt noe booke or wrighting shall bee Imprinted within this Jurisdiction (except such questions as are ordinarily disputed at ye Commensemts in ye Colledge from time to time) Unles

they shall be licenced by such persons as are or shall bee appoynted by this cort for yt end: & iff any person shall imprint or cause to be imprinted any booke or wrighting with out licence (save wt before is exprest) shall therby incur such censure from this Cort as the nature of ye offence shall deserve, & further this Cort doth heerby nominate & authorise: the Governor for the time being, Major Daniell Dennison & Mr Thomas Sheperd or any two of them to bee licencers of ye pres (during ye pleasure of ye Court).

The deputies have voted this order desiring our magistrates concurrence heerin. Edward Rawson, cleric.

The magistrates see no ground to consent with o'r brethren the deputies heerin. Jo: Endicott. Gour.

This document reads as if it had been prepared by someone of restricted literacy. When it was presented to the Deputies for their consideration it contained an additional clause near the end which was struck out in the manuscript:

& w't ever booke or wrighting shall be licenced under ye sd persons hands or any two of them shall be accountmed as allowed by this Court.

Major Denison is as likely a person as any other member of the lower house to have introduced such an act for the purpose of suppressing any incipient inclination toward a liberalizing of opinions. He was influential in the group that may have schemed to have Samuel Green placed in control of the Press. The Governor and his advisers squelched this action but the fact that it found expression is significant.

A few months later Green became responsible for what was done at the Press. His selection might be more confidently explained if it were possible to know what went on during those weeks in and out of the sittings of the Synod at Cambridge. The type and other equipment which were placed in Green's charge were in a room or shop under the Dunster roof, and nothing was done that suggested any question of their being Dunster's property. The Commencement programs were printed for the last day of this July, and work began on the Synod's PLATFORM in late autumn. Before the end of winter Urian Oakes, who had graduated in July, supplied the copy for the next year's ALMANACK. Then came a Supplement to the Laws of 1648, followed by the edition of the revised PSALMS dated 1651. After this there continued to be about one bookish publication each year. The owner was preoccupied with the plans for lengthening the college course, while he was under increasing pressure to formulate his fermenting opinions in regard to infant baptism. The

dual Commencements of August 9 and 10, 1653, inaugurated the four-year course at Harvard, and a few weeks later the birth of the President's fourth child brought about his open avowal of antipaedobaptism. In the interval preceding this decision, the College was offered a new building which carried with it the prospect of adding an adequately financed department to the institution. At their September meeting the Commissioners who controlled the distribution of the missionary funds from London directed their Massachusetts colleagues:

to order the building of one Intire rome att the Colledge for the Conveniency of six hopfull Indians youthes to bee trained up there . . . which Rome may be two storyes high and built plaine but strong and durable.

It is more than likely that the idea, if it did not originate with Eliot, owed its practical financial support to his suggestions. The "strong and durable" specification suggests the possibility that the increasing activity of the printing shop had shaken the timbers of the President's house, and that this and other inconveniences made it desirable to separate Brother Green's workmen from the Dunster household. If Eliot promised to provide six young hopefuls to occupy an upper dormitory, the project could be financed by the missionary money with every prospect of being approved in London. The native youths did not materialize and it soon became clear that Dunster was in danger of being ousted. Work on the new building started but not much had been done when the Commissioners met a year later and again instructed the Boston members:

to give order for the finishing of the building att the Colledge and to alter the forme agreed upon att the last meeting att Boston as is desired by the president of the Colledge provided it exceed not thirty foot in length and twenty in breadth.

Three months later Dunster's second resignation had been accepted and he was explaining why he could not move his family out of the President's house. On December 10, 1654, the College treasurer dated an inventory of its property for which he had at last become responsible. In this he entered:

One small house unfinished, intended for a printing house.

A Printing press with all its appurtenances, now in the occupation of Samuel Green Printer, the particulars whereof are expressed in an Inventory given in by sd Printer to the President, valled the whole at eighty pounds,

The Press apparently moved into the new building before it was completed. There is a possibility that the Commissioners or the London Corporation objected to paying for a building that was costing more than had been authorized, for on May 9, 1655, in a statement of the situation in which the College authorities found the institution at the beginning of the new administration, is an entry:

The Revenue of the presse (wch is but small) must at present be improved for ye finishing of ye Print-house: its continuance in ye Presidts house being (besides other Inconveniences) dangerous & hurtful to ye edifice thereof.

The new building was reported in 1674 to have cost between £300 and £400, and to be "strong and substantial although not very capacious." There is nothing in the earlier records specifying the materials that the Commissioners expected to pay for, and this may be an instance of the beneficiary going beyond the intention of the benefactor, for it was the first Harvard brick building. An object of admiration at first, the mortar proved to be less lasting than the bricks made from the abundant Cambridge clay pits, and by 1695 it had "gone to decay and become altogether uselesse."

The College authorities never questioned the ownership of the Indian College. In September 1656 a formal request was presented to the Commissioners for permission to use the now completed building to accommodate an overflow of English students until such a time as the native youths for whom it had been intended should be enrolled. This was granted without comment and it continued to be used as a dormitory until it became unsafe in 1693. When it was torn down, it was recognized that the bricks belonged to the missionary society. Its Commissioners were asked for permission to sell them to the contractor who was erecting another dormitory, Stoughton Hall. This was agreed to on the condition that "in case any Indians shall hereafter be sent to ye Colledge, they shall enjoy their Studies rent free in said building."

There is nothing in the records to show how the proposed second-story room for six hopeful Indians became "one small house unfinished" in December 1654 and eight months later was a brick building on whose ground floor, twenty by thirty feet, was a printing shop which interrupted its work on the GOSPEL OF MATTHEW in Indian to turn off the College Commencement programs and the President's first Commencement sermon. In another year there was room to lodge twenty Harvard students of English lineage on the floor above.

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TRIAL ISSUES

John Eliot's mind was firmly fixed on the necessity of giving the Indians the Scriptures in their own tongue. As early as 1651 he had tried his skill in composition in the native language as he understood it, for on October 27 John Wilson wrote that he had attended a gathering of native worshipers at which:

the Indian School-Master read out of his book one of the Psalms in meeter, line by line, translated by Mr. Eliot into Indian, all the men and women, &c. singing the same together in one of our ordinary English tunes melodiously.

Twenty months later, June 18, 1653, Eliot wrote to Thomas Thorowgood, who had collected money in England which had been sent to him direct instead of through the Corporation and Commissioners:

I have had a great longing desire (if it were the will of God) that our Indian Language might be sanctified by the Translation of the Holy Scriptures into it . . . but I fear it will not be obtained in my dayes. I cannot stick to the work, because of my necessary attendance to my ministerie in Roxbury, and among the Indians, at sundry places, and the multiplied work, which in that kind ariseth upon me, and yet through the blessing of the Lord, I have this Winter translated the whole book of the Psalms . . . While I live, if God please to assist me, I resolve to follow the work of translating the Scriptures.

The next year Eliot refers to an Indian helper "whom I have used in Translating a good part of the holy Scriptures." Again on August 16, 1655, he wrote:

That which I now most follow, is, first the spreading of the Gospel into more remote places . . . The second thing attended, is the civilizing of them . . . The third thing is the printing of the Bible in their language, Genesis is printed, and we are upon Matthew, but our progresse is slow, and hands short.

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THE FIRST BOOK OF MOSES was put to press for the encouragement as well as enlightenment of the English friends who were awaiting evidence that their benevolences were bearing fruit among the natives of the New World. Most of the printed copies were sent abroad, doubtless unbound, and these ceased to be curiosities after the New Testament was completed six years later. The preliminary sample issue disappeared from the sight of anybody with a knowledge of its peculiar significance.

The GENESIS is a small quarto of 64 unnumbered leaves of the same size as the INDIAN BIBLE completed eight years later. The text is the same as in the Bible with a few modifications, but in this preliminary issue the first nineteen chapters have an English version in small italic type interlined with the Algonquian so that the equivalent word is above the native term. The lower half of the last page contains the following note in smaller roman type:

*So endeth Genesis, All prayse be given unto the
Lord JESUS Amen.*

Such English as may have occasion to look upon this Impression, are intreated to consider. That some defects there be in the work which could not be helped for want of letters or types, wherewith the press cannot suddainly be furnished. Which hath put us upon the using of some unsuitable Characters, though we endeavoured to fit them in the best manner we could.

Likewise, the language making much use of (oo) of which tipe the press is much destitute, we are forced constantly to use two small Italian (o) in stead thereof.

Moreover, because in our Alphabet we make no use of (c) saving in (ch) but spell all our words with k & q (the reason wherof is known to many in these later times) and the language making much use of (k) hence we are in great want of types for that letter, which may occasion you sometimes to find a wrong character in stead thereof.

Note that this Character (&) which is both in English and Latine for (and) hath the same use also in this Impression of this Language.

Also sometimes the same word may be found spelled with a different vowel, or sound which is sometimes regular in the language and sometimes again advisedly let pass, because it is not easily determined which is best. No doubt there be many defects in the work, but the Lord is mercifull to pittie our weaknesses, and to bless our poor endeavours, for the good of their soules, who are glad to heare the WORD of God, speaking in their own language to them.

F I N I S.

The text is in a type similar to and presumably the same as had been used ten years before for the Narragansett DECLARATION OF FORMER PASSAGES. Eliot had taken steps, perhaps at the printer's suggestion, to secure a separate supply of type for use in printing his translations while he was getting ready to produce his first CATECHISM. This would enable his work to be done without interruption by other demands upon the facilities of the Press. His letter to the Corporation asking for this type has not come down, but it is referred to in a reply addressed to the Commissioners from London on February 18, 1653/4:

You wrote to us not to send any more goods till you sent for them . . . we are very well satisfied therewith and therefore shall deserve the expectation of divers that have written for letters for printing, paper etc.

This was answered from Hartford on September 25, 1654:

Wee here enclose the Coppy of a Direction sent us from the Massachusetts for letters for the use of printing which wee desire may be provided and sent.

A week earlier than this last the Commissioners had written to Eliot that "According to your Direction wee shall send both for letters and paper for the printing press." One item in an "Invoice of such goods as wee desire may be provided for the Indians by the Corporation" which was included in the letter of September 25 was

Letters and paper some for printing. . . .

20:00:00

On the ensuing March 21 the Corporation wrote: "We have sent you letters for printing as may appear by a bill of lading." The Commissioners had learned of the shipment before September 15, 1655, for on that date they notified Secretary Rawson, who looked after their routine affairs at Boston, that "The desposing of the letters for printing we have left to the Commissioners for Massachusetts."

It was a month before this, on August 16, 1655, that Eliot wrote that "Genesis is finished and we are upon Matthew." No copy of the New Testament Gospel has come to light, so it is not possible to say whether any part of this second trial issue of the Bible was in a different or newer type than the GENESIS. The new type was presumably used for the selection of PSALMS upon which the printers were working two years later. That the old and new fonts were similar is implied by Green's accounting for the latter in 1662 as "the letters that came before they were mingled with the Colledges."

Eliot warned his patrons in August 1655 that they should be prepared for delays as "our progress is slow and hands short." The hands may have been those that could compose the Indian translations. This observation was the initial move to prepare the Londoners for another request, that they supply an experienced workman who should be hired to devote all his time to the Indian work. It was not until December 28, 1658, that Eliot was able to report to the Corporation that "They have none of the Scriptures printed in their own Language, save Genesis and Matthew, and a few Psalms in meeter." This selection of metrical Psalms for use as a service book no longer exists so far as known. It cannot have come from the Press long before the date of the above letter, for Green's bill for printing it was not laid before the Commissioners until they met at Hartford the following September, 1659. Then he was paid £40 for the PSALMS and Peirson's CATECHISM.

Peirson's CATECHISM is not a large book and the PSALTER can hardly have been much larger, so that it looks as if the typesetters and perhaps the rest of the staff received some allowance above their ordinary rate of pay for what must have seemed to them a tedious and meaningless task. There are other indications that the workmen were paid liberal wages when they were engaged on the work charged to the missionary funds. However, this time Green was obliged to acknowledge that there had been an overcharge of five pounds.

An examination of the GENESIS reveals the stages by which those who were responsible for the actual work on the proposed undertaking came to appreciate some of the economic considerations which were involved in this enterprise. The work was started with an easily read, ordinary book-size type, which was retained for the Indian text throughout. The page was the same size as other publications of the Press at this period, but with only 23 lines of Indian to a page, widely separated so as to allow room for interlining, in the smallest available italic type, the English equivalents of the much longer native words or phrases. At the beginning, each verse was printed by itself as a separate paragraph and this continued for 27 pages. In the middle of Chapter ix, leaf D₂ verso, it was decided that this was wasteful of space when it resulted in some lines having only one or two words. After this, but rarely at first, another verse was begun on the same line. A considerable space, an inch or more, was left between the end of one verse and the beginning of the next one. The pages became increasingly solid after signature E.

The interlined English words were inserted for 56 of the 128 pages.

They cease to appear after the end of Chapter XIX on page G₄ verso, which has seven lines solid Indian text at the foot of the page, beginning the next chapter. The remaining pages have 38 lines of Indian in the larger type. The chapter number was given a line to itself throughout, separated by a blank line from the text above.

⌘ A copy of the GENESIS was brought to light by Wilberforce Eames in 1937. Before 1890 he had made himself an authority on everything that had to do with John Eliot's publications, and he was engaged to prepare the entries for all the earlier dated titles in James Constantine Pilling's *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages*, issued by the United States Bureau of Ethnology in 1891. In the notes to these titles under John Eliot's name Eames printed extracts from contemporary documents which showed that Eliot had printed in 1655 the BOOK OF GENESIS and the GOSPEL OF MATTHEW in Indian. Of neither of these was he able to find any trace of a surviving copy.

The MATTHEW is still to find, but Mr. Eames's retentive memory and acute recognition of an unobtrusive clue were rewarded shortly before his last illness. His extraordinary command of book knowledge ranged into strange linguistic realms and led him to acquire a vast number of publications that had seemingly passed far beyond any possibility of present-day usefulness. One such was a copy of a catalogue printed in 1827 at London of a library belonging to William Marsden, who had written a *History of Sumatra* published in 1783, 1784, and 1811. This quarto catalogue is entitled *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana Philologica et Orientalis*, and in it under the heading "America (North)" Mr. Eames's watchfully scanning eye caught an entry halfway down a column on page 144:

The First Book of Moses called Genesis, in the Algonkin language of North America. (Cambridge in Virginia. 4to.
(Title wanting.)

The correctness of this entry is curious, because there is not a word in the actual printed piece to afford any sort of clue to the fact that it is in Algonquian, that it has any American connection, or to the place where it certainly was printed. It cannot have reached England until some years after Virginia and New England had been clearly differentiated in the minds and speech of people who had anything to do with either. This might mean that the memorandum, now lost, from which the catalogue entry must have been copied, had been made by an elderly person who clung to youthful memories of a time when English gentlefolk thought of "Virginia" as the name of all that part of the transatlantic world to which their kinsmen were voyaging in search of fisheries, traffic, or adventure.

The first words of that entry on page 144 were those of a document which Mr. Eames had printed in 1890, and he had held them in mind for half a century. From the title of the book in which he found them again he turned

to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which told him that Mr. Marsden presented his collection of books and manuscripts in 1835 to King's College London. In the library of that institution the title was found. A photographic copy was procured, and this was reproduced by the Massachusetts Historical Society. A brief explanatory note written by Mr. Eames on his deathbed in the autumn of 1937 was printed, with facsimiles of the first and last pages, in Volume xxxiii of the *Transactions* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

THE PLEA FOR SCHOLARSHIP

Eliot's GENESIS reached his correspondents in England in the autumn of 1655 and the MATTHEW some months later. After that, little that was recorded was accomplished by him for more than two years. He may have been troubled by bodily afflictions of which he wrote in October 1657 to the treasurer of the Corporation:

The Lord Jesus our Redeemer who hath by his blood wrought our deliverance from eternal wrath, doth dayly drop out upon us fruits of his Redemption by delivering from sickness sorrows & afflictions. And by virtue hereoff doe I stand before the Lord among the living, at this day, for I doe blesse the Lord, he hath in some measure recovered me, & inabled me to attend my work, though not without paine, my disease hangeth about me still, but not in vigor. I can pretty well indure my travaile, but if I travaile either in wet or cold, it doth shake me much, & is ready to lay me quite up againe, for which cause I am forced to be more wary, & observant of my selfe then I have bene wont to be.

By this time Eliot must have received satisfactory assurances that his Bible was going to be printed. When the question of printing it was presented to the Commissioners at their meeting in September 1658, he knew that nothing they could say or do would make any difference. His account of what took place was not written until the following December 28, when he again addressed the treasurer:

I shall not trouble you with anything at present save this one business of moment, touching the Printing of the Bible in the Indian Language, touching which business sundry of the Elders did petition unto the Commissioners, moving them to further it, as a principal means of promoting Religion among them. And God so guided (without mans contrivance) that I was there when it came in. They moved this doubt whether the Translation I had made was generally understood? to which I answered, that upon my knowledge it was understood as farre as Conecticot; for there I did read some part of my Translation before many hundred English Witnesses, and the Indians manifested that they did understand what I read, perfectly, in respect of the language.

They further questioned whether I had expressed the Translation in true language? I answered that I feared after times will find many infirmities in it, all humane works are subject to infirmity, yet those pieces that were printed, viz. Genesis and Matthew, I had sent to such as I thought had best skill in the language, and intreated their animadversions, but I heard not of any faults they found.

When the Commissioners ended their meeting, they did commit the further consideration of the matter to our Commissioners, as I understand, of whom our Governor is president. Therefore at the coming away of this ship, I repaired to the Governor about it. I proposed this expedient, for the more easie prosecution of the work, viz, that your selves might be moved to hire some honest young man . . . [as quoted in Chapter xi].

I blesse the Lord that the whole book of God is translated into their own language, it wanteth but revising, transcribing, and printing. Oh that the Lord would so move, that by some means or other it may be printed.

The delay in reporting the results of the September conference may have been due to a desire to announce that the translation had been completed. On the same day in December and also to the treasurer, Governor Endicott wrote that "Mr. Eliot will be ready at all times to correct the sheets as fast as they are printed, and desireth nothing for his pains."

When the first Indian CATECHISM was ready for printing, before the trial issues of the Bible, the New England Commissioners had done what they could to let the Londoners know that they distrusted Eliot's command of the native language. Nothing that they said made any impression overseas. There was money in hand to pay for the printing of a Bible, and the men and women who had given much of this money had become possessed by the idea of being the means of making available, in an unknown tongue, the Word of God. He could be trusted to take care of His Holy Writ. The Commissioners meanwhile, getting no encouragement from London, endeavored to induce Eliot to accept assistance from those who had known the natives more intimately, with what result appears from a letter to him dated September 25, 1654:

We desired that Thomas Stanton's help might have been used in the Catechism printed and wish that no inconvenience be found through the want thereof; and shall now advise that before you proceed in Translating the Scriptures or any parte of them you improve the best helps the country affords for the Indian language that if it may be these south west Indians (some of whom as we are now informed desire help both for reading and to be instructed in the things of God and Christ) may understand and have the benefit of what is printed.

The translator's animadversions on these recommendations have not been preserved, but the tenor of his observations made to those who listened to him on either side of the ocean can be inferred from another letter to him from the Commissioners a year later, on August 29, 1655:

The Commissioners never forbade you to Translate the Scriptures for preaching or for any other use either of your own or of your hearers but advised that what you meant to print or set forth upon the Corporation charge might be done with such consideration of the language and improvement of the best helps to be had therin, that as much as may be the Indians in all parts of New England might share in the benefit; which we fear they cannot so well do by what you have already printed.

The Commissioners saw no reason to alter their opinions, and in September 1660, when the work on the Indian Bible had begun, they wrote to the Corporation:

Wee shall attend your advice for the impression of the whole Bible, without which we should have rested in our former determination that the copy might have been fully perused and perfected by the most skilfulest helps in the Country.

After this the Commissioners gave up their attempts to save the reputation of New England scholarship. Their efforts thereafter were limited to seeing that the printers did the work for which they were paid and that as much of the money as possible remained in the colony. As agents of their London principals they carried out the instructions which they received. They scrutinized the bills submitted by Samuel Green as manager of the Press and ordered payment from the funds remitted for this specific purpose. The Commissioners for the United New England Colonies and the Harvard authorities carefully avoided doing anything that would have involved them in any responsibility for the Indian Bible that was completed in 1663 or for the improved edition dated 1685.

Twenty-five years later, in 1710, a third edition of the Indian Bible was ordered to be printed by the equally pious successors of those who had financed the earlier issues. Thereupon Cotton Mather composed the following letter. It is one of his acts that explain the high repute which he holds in the New England world. His shortcomings were manifold, as were his offsetting abilities.

Honble Sir,—Your Stewards and Servts the Commissioners, to whom the honble Corporation for propagating the Gospel among our Indians have committed a more immediate and subordinate management of that Affair, we hope

do, and shall observe most exactly all your Directions, and with all possible Conformity. Among your Directions, you have been pleased to propose a New Edition of the Indian Bible, in which your orders, if they be continued, will be religiously complied withall. But because it can hardly be well entred upon before we may have some Answer to this Address we now make unto you, We improve the present Opportunity humbly to lay before you the Sentiments which your Commissioners here generally have of the matter; and not they only, but we suppose, the Generality of the more considerat Gentlemen through the Countrey. Indeed the considerations which we have already and almost unawares insinuated, may be of some weight in the matter. For if the printing of the Psalter with the Gospel of John, in so correct a manner as may be for Satisfaction, have taken up so long a time, as above a year; how much time will necessarily go to so great a Work as that of the whole Bible? For the doing of which also, it will be necessary to take off those persons from their Ministry among the Indians, who are of all men the most essential to the Indian Service.

In the mean time 'tis the opinion of many, That as little Money as would be expended on a new edition of the Bible (and not much more time) would go very far towards bringing them to be a sort of *English Generation*. It is very sure, The best thing we can do for our Indians is to Anglicise them in all agreeable Instances; and in that of Language, as well as others. They can scarce retain their Language, without a Tincture of other Salvage Inclinations, which do but ill suit, either with the Honor, or with the design of Christianity. The Indians themselves are divided in the Desires upon this matter. Tho' some of their aged men are tenacious enough of Indianisme (which is not at all to be wondred at) Others of them as earnestly wish that their people may be made English as fast as they can.

The Reasons they assign for it are very weighty ones; and this among the rest, That their Indian Tongue is a very penurious one (tho' the Words are long enough!) and the great things of our Holy Religion brought unto them in it, unavoidably arrive in Terms that are scarcely more intelligible to them than if they were entirely English. But the English Tongue would presently give them a Key to all our Treasures, and make them the Masters of another sort of Library than any that ever will be seen in their Barbarous Linguo. And such of them as can speak English, find themselves vastly accommodated for the entertaining and communicating of Knowledge, beyond what they were before. And it is hoped, That by good English Schools among the Indians, and some other fit methods, the grand intention of Anglicising them would be soon accomplished.

The Truth is, when we sit down and count the cost, we much suspect our Ability to go through the Cost of printing the Bible, and yet supporting the annual expenses which must be born on other Accounts, or else the Evangelical work among the Indians fall to the ground. That which adds a very great

weight unto the Scale we are upon, is this: The Indians, tho their number and their distance be now so small, do considerably differ in their Dialect. The former Editions of the Bible were in the *Natick* Dialect. But if it be done in the *Noop* Dialect, which would best suit the most valuable body of our surviving Indians: those on the Main, and at *Nantucket* would not understand it so well as they should. The Books written by two eminent Preachers in their Tongue, the Indians complain of a Difference in them that is considerable. Their Language is also continually changing; old words wearing out, and new ones coming on. And a discreet person whom we lately employed in a visitation of the Indian Villages, inserts this as one article in his report, about this particular matter

"There are many words of Mr. Eliot's forming wch they never understood. This they say is a grief to them. Such a knowledge in their Bibles, as our English ordinarily have in ours, they seldom any of them have; and there seems to be as much difficulty to bring them unto a competent knowledge of the Scriptures, as it would be to get a sensible acquaintance with the English Tongue."

Your Commissioners in general were not acquainted with the Letters that went from certain particular Gentlemen here which gave the Representation that has solicited your excellent Charity to run into that Chancel of a New Edition for the Indian Bible. We therefore thought it our Duty to throw in our own Representation on the other side, that so the more consummat Wisdom and Judgment of the Corporation may weigh all things, and proceed thereupon to their final Resolutions. When those are made known unto us, whatever they shall be, we shall think it our Duty to fall in with them, and pursue them to the uttermost.

Being always Your Honor's (and the Company's) most faithfull most sincere and humble Servts

That none of the Ministers who belong to our number, Sign with us, is owing to their Indisposition upon weighty Reasons, to think it proper for them to declare themselves peremptorily one way or other on the Subject.

The foregoing Representation, the original was written by Mr. Cotton Mather. Mr. Bromfield had it of his Bro. Fitch, who gave it him to shew Mr. Sergeant, wch he did in the Council-Chamber 9r. 11th. 1710. I accidentally heard Mr. Sergeant & Foster talking upon it, ask'd it of them, and Copied it out.

S. S.

The initials are those of Judge Samuel Sewall, in whose Letter Book his copy is preserved. In 1710 Sewall was serving as treasurer in Boston for the London Corporation. One of his duties during the next few years

was to manage the profitable disposal to Boston printers of a large stock of Genoa paper sent to him by the Corporation in anticipation of another printing of the Bible.

☞ Sewall's Letter Book, with his manuscript Diary and a receipt book which is the principal source of information concerning the New England Company during the decade following 1710, is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in whose *Collections* the Letter Book and Diary were printed in 1888.

☞ The treasurer of the Corporation was Richard Floyd or Lloyd. The name occurs in the printed records in both forms and it is impossible to say whether the uncertainty existed in the seventeenth century or arose in the nineteenth when the manuscripts were copied by those who, like the present writer, were not acquainted with the gentleman in question.

CHAPTER IX

OLD AND NEW WORLD TROUBLES

UNCERTAIN FUTURES

THE heavily subsidized Indian work has befogged the realization that there was an increasing resort to the Press for job printing after 1655. The few examples of this work which have survived are samples of what it was called upon to do, rather than a record of its production. The earliest existing broadside elegy, *VERSES ON JOSEPH BRISCO*, who died in 1658, is described in Chapter IV with the reasons for thinking that similar tributes to the departed came from the Press ten years earlier.

Two years before the occasion for the *Brisco Verses*, Daniel Gookin of Cambridge returned from a trip to London and announced that he had been authorized by the home government to enter into agreements with any English who might desire to remove to Jamaica, which Cromwell was anxious to colonize. Gookin distributed a flysheet *TO ALL PERSONS WHOM THESE MAY CONCERN* dated March 25, 1656. The surviving copy of this, preserved among the papers of the Winthrop family, is the earliest recorded forerunner of the Colonization Societies of two centuries later.

It was a time of increasing unsettledness in the Puritan Commonwealth, and the disturbing elements in the colony made the most of the conditions. The Quakers were particularly annoying because they were being ignored in large measure in England, and this neglect drove some of the more uneasy ones to seek attention in the Bay Colony. They dared the scandalized people of Boston and Salem to do their worst, and got what they were after. When public opinion reacted, the situation was explained by the authorities in a printed *DECLARATION OF THE GENERAL COURT. OCTOBER 18. 1658. CONCERNING THE EXECUTION OF TWO QUAKERS*, which had to be supplemented by a further *TRUE RELATION OF PROCEEDINGS AGAINST CERTAIN QUAKERS*. Neither of these broadsides has survived in the original Cambridge issue, but both were reprinted in England, perhaps sponsored by Quaker partisans. One of these states that it was "Printed by their Order in New-England and Reprinted in London 1659." As the gravity of the situation which they had created for

themselves became evident to the rulers of the colony, the Teacher of the Boston First Church, John Norton, "who was appointed thereunto by the order of the General Court," prepared a defense which appeared with the title:

THE HEART OF N-ENGLAND RENT at the Blasphemies of the Present Generation. Or A Brief Tractate concerning the Doctrine of the Quakers, Demonstrating the destructive nature thereof, to Religion, the Churches, and the State, with consideration of the Remedy against it, Occasional Satisfaction to Objections, and Confirmation of the Contrary Truth . . . Printed by Samuel Green at Cambridg in New-England, 1659.

This is a quarto tract of title leaf and 58 pages of text, 7½ sheets. The closing paragraph was crowded into the last page, with one line of erratum, by using the smallest type. This fine print calls attention to the preceding text, in which the author wanders from his subject to touch on another matter which was causing even deeper worries at this time:

It concerneth N. E. always to remember, that Originally they are a Plantation Religious, not a Plantation of Trade. The Profession of the purity of doctrine, worship, & discipline is written upon her forehead. A spot of this vast leshimon, converted into corn-fields, orchards, streets inhabited, and a place of Merchandize cannot denominate New-England.

The same theme was echoed by John Higginson of Salem in his election sermon of 1663 when he reminded his hearers "that New-England is originally a plantation of Religion, not a Plantation of Trade. Let Merchants and such as are increasing *Cent per Cent* remember this." The General Court had provided that Norton's tractate should get into circulation by ordering

that the Treasurer dispose of Mr. Norton's books now at the press, delivering every member of this Court one, and to the several towns in proportion to their rates, and twenty or thirty to Mr. Norton, presenting this Court's acknowledgment to him for his pains at present; and giving every minister one.

Two other titles are known which came from the Press at Cambridge before its local work became secondary in importance to that of the missionary effort. At the insistence of his parishioners Richard Mather wrote out his notes on

THE SUMME OF CERTAIN SERMONS UPON GENES: 15. 16, VVerin Not only the Doctrine of Justification by Faith is Asserted and Cleared, And sundry Arguments for Justification before Faith, discussed and Answered. But Also

The nature and meanes of Faith, with the Imputation of our sins to Christ, and of Christs Righteousness to us are briefly Explained and Confirmed. Preached at Dorchester in New-England by Richard Mather Teacher of the Church there. And now by him Published at the earnest request of sundry well-affected and Godly Christians. Printed by Samuel Green at Cambridg in New-England 1652.

The figures for the cost of printing this tract which were put down in 1655/6 suggest that, if paper was still to be had at four reams for a pound, nine reams were used, or enough for six hundred copies of the 60-page, 7½ sheet book. The coincidence in these figures of the number of reams and the price for the printing opens another possibility, that Green had already changed the basis for his charge from a pound a sheet to a pound a ream, which would have increased the amount of his bill. The figures of 1655/6 are:

mr Mathers booke.	7 sheets & ½	
for the whole		18.00.00
abate for printing	9.00.00	<u>11.05.00</u>
for paper	<u>2.05.00</u>	06.15.00
Rest:	.6.15.00	<u>11.05.00</u>

In 1657 Richard Mather still had a dozen years of vigorous polemics awaiting him, but a longer future was occupying his mind. He committed to the Press

A FAREWEL-EXHORTATION TO THE CHURCH AND PEOPLE OF DORCHESTER IN NEW-ENGLAND. But Not unusefull to any others, that shall heedfully Read and Improve the same, As Containing Christian and Serious Incitements, and perswasions to the Study and Practice of Seven principal Dutyes of great Importance for the Glory of God, and the Salvation of the Soul, And therefore needfull to be Seriously considered of all in these declining times . . . Printed by Samuel Green at Cambridg in New-England 1657.

The author's grandson in his *Magnalia* told how this tract was distributed:

Some years before his Death (having sent over to his old Flock in Lancashire, a like Testimony of his Concernment for them) he composed and Published, A Farewell Exhortation . . . wherein his Flock might read the Design, and Spirit of his Whole Ministry among them; on a certain Lords Day, he did, by the Hands of his Deacons, put these little books into the Hands of his Congregation, that so whenever he should by Death take his Farewel of them, they might still remember how they had been exhorted.

STEADY EMPLOYMENT

After the manuscript for the Indian Genesis came from Eliot in 1655, the work committed to the Press by the public increased slowly, while the government promised more than it delivered. Except for the annual almanacs there is nothing in the nature of regular book-trade publications. Some of the catechisms may have had a sale in the shops or from the packs of peddlers to the parents of school children, but most of those that were printed at Cambridge seem to have been commissioned by local communities for distribution to the townsfolk.

The order for the payment of £40 for the INDIAN PSALMS and the Peirson CATECHISM, voted by the Commissioners in September 1659, and their subsequent direction that Green be asked to account for this charge, raises a question as to the way in which the work was financed. Inasmuch as Eliot received his copies of the printed PSALMS in December 1658, the wages of the workmen must have been paid to them some months before the payment of the money was authorized. All the evidence suggests that neither the College as the owner nor Samuel Green as operator of the shop was in a position to carry such a charge. The probability is that the Massachusetts members of the Board of Commissioners authorized interim outlays on behalf of the larger body and that Hezekiah Usher, who handled their funds, paid out the money as needed. When the Commissioners met in September they voted approval of their treasurer's accounts for actual transactions covering the previous twelve months, and these duly authorized statements were then transmitted to the London principals. What actually happened no doubt is that the wives of the men who worked at the Press when it was busy got what they needed from a shopkeeper in the town of Cambridge, and that the local merchant drew his supplies in turn from Usher's warehouse at a Boston dockhead. If their ledgers were to turn up, it would doubtless appear that Usher ordered his stock from London merchants who were regular attendants at the meetings of the Corporation of the New England Company. It was in some such way as this that Edward Winslow fulfilled his mission and prosperity returned to the Massachusetts Bay Colony after 1650.

The Lord Protector Oliver died on September 3, 1658. His son Richard Cromwell was placed in the seat of power by the men who had enjoyed Oliver's confidence, none of whom believed that Richard could prevent that seat from slipping out from under him. The people of Eng-

land throughout the countryside had already decided that they did not want any more fighting over ideas or practices, earthly or heavenly. So long as they were permitted to live their lives in ways to which they were accustomed, the politicians and the churchmen could arrange other affairs to suit themselves, provided that they kept themselves to themselves. The effort to create a better England, morally and spiritually, had been made honestly and sincerely. It had produced a prosperous nation, but in other ways it had cost more than it was worth, when it came to taking stock of life as a whole. There is little doubt that in 1660 the non-conformists could still have outvoted and outfought those who cared seriously for a ritualistic religion, Protestant or Romanist, if the issue could have been placed before them in a form that led them to care. Instead, the issue now lay in the hands and minds of those who did not care for anything which disturbed the comforts of their accustomed home life.

One other thing was even more certain. The army, the City merchants, the organized clergy of the Establishment and of the various sectaries, the refugees on the Continent who had hungered in their loyalty to a kingly ideal, each of these held ideas which canceled each other out until there was nothing left that was worth making a fuss about. There was nothing for the English people to decide that stood in the way of placing the direction of affairs in the hands of the man, Edward Hyde, who had for ten years managed the affairs of young Charles Stuart so deftly that there had not been a word or act which those who did not like the young man or who distrusted his partisans could raise as an effective argument to block his restoration as King Charles the Second.

Three thousand miles away another group of Englishmen had settled themselves in new and by now comfortable homes, without seriously contemplating the possibility of ever being anything but English folk. In the England they had left, their homes had been their castles, secure from intrusion or dispossession by age-long custom. When this was threatened, although only in the intangible right to think and act as they thought best for their spiritual satisfactions, they left England rather than risk the uncertain outcome of creating a disturbance in the national community. For twenty years their fellow countrymen at home had been acting and thinking in ways that met with their (often qualified) approval, but now to all appearances thinking and acting were in abeyance. There was no lack of news, much of it confidential and from the best sources, and no lack of opinions from those closest to the innermost

springs of authority, but nobody ventured to tell what was actually going to happen. Almost everyone knew what he felt sure would happen, but this was far from saying that it would come to pass.

If in 1659 the prophecies could all have been placed side by side, there would have been a remarkable agreement in the guesses at the future course of events, but this was something that could not be known. Whether the reports came from confidants of George Monk in camp in the north or of Edward Montague afloat below Gravesend, from someone who had talked with Edward Hyde in Paris or from William Ashurst in his London counting house, or from cousins or aunts at Groton in Suffolk or Bury in Lancashire, they had all been thinking of a restoration of monarchy as a possibility that might not be so bad after all. But nobody said this to strangers and rarely to neighbors. In the London counting rooms, especially, it was easy enough to carry on business as usual, confident that whatever happened, the mainspring of government finance would not suffer. Everybody waited to see who would make the first move, and where, and what would happen next. Nobody said or did anything that might prove to have been indiscreet, minding his own business, profitably as usual.

BUSINESS AS USUAL

It is inconceivable that the men who attended the meetings of the Corporation of the New England Company were unaware that certain individuals who were well known to be the confidential emissaries of Hyde were in London at this time and that they no longer came and went unseen. Their business was easily guessed, and it was talked about as freely in the taprooms as in the counting houses and over the teacups. The fact that those City merchants must have known what was going on gives a peculiar interest to certain things that they did in the early spring of 1660, when they made definite and confident arrangements in regard to printing at Cambridge in New England. When these actions were reported, with the accompanying instructions, to the Commissioners sitting at Boston or Hartford, it must have been more than ever difficult to interpret aright the news that came by the same conveyances.

Throughout the months when the future prospects of the English nation seemed to be changing from week to week, the members of the Corporation attended its meetings regularly and considered its future interests without a recorded sign of any anticipated interruption in the use of its funds for the purposes specified in its act of incorporation. When

the restoration of Charles II made this a "late pretended corporation" the tenants stopped paying rents until the courts should settle their doubts as to disputed ownership of landed properties. Remittances to New England were reduced as income fell off, but they did not stop, and the London merchants never wavered in their confidence that the work of Christianizing the natives was to go on. The Bible was to be printed in the Indian language, and the only recorded worry in London was over the slowness with which the printers did their work.

At Boston in New England business as usual was not so easy. Ten weeks away, anything might have happened since the latest letters from home were written, and those letters had brought many inconsistent prognostications. To those who did their business in the townhouse or foregathered at Hezekiah Usher's shop after closing their offices at the wharf heads, the need of taking thought for the future seemed imperative. Here again, virtual unanimity developed gradually in high and low estate; they or their fathers had left England in order to make homes for themselves in a new world, and nobody had any intention of having those homes disturbed from the outside. These men waited for sight of an incoming sail down the harbor, but while they were waiting they inspected the works on Fort Hill and took thought of the armament on the islands that controlled the channel.

That much of the news that reached Boston in the months before 1660 was misleading is best shown by John Eliot. He had excellent reasons for thinking that he was in confidential communication with the fountainhead of the Puritan world. He can be pardoned if the letters that came to him gave him another misleading idea, concerning the value of his own opinions and the estimation in which these were held in Independent circles. When Eliot learned that the future of the existing regime in England was being threatened by the servants of Anti-Christ, he hastened to its rescue by throwing the weight of his words into the scales. Off to a friend in the Mother Country went a manuscript which had been composed when, confident that the Bay Colony was firmly established in fulfillment of the Divine requirements, it only remained to point out the way for the homeland to follow this holy example. This manuscript was printed with the title:

The Christian Commonwealth: or, The Civil Policy of the Rising Kingdom of Jesus Christ. Written before the Interruption of the Government, By Mr. John Eliot, Teacher of the Church of Christ at Roxbury in New-England. And Now Published (after his consent given) by a Server of the Season.

This apocalyptic rhapsody, a visionary portrayal of the heavenly realm that England was to be, had been written at a time when no great harm would have been seen in addressing it

To the Chosen and Holy, and Faithful, Who manage the Wars of the Lord, against Antichrist, in great Britain, and to all the Saints, faithful Brethren, and Christian People, of the Commonwealth of England.

Its publication was inopportune, however well meant, when the men who had managed those wars were making their plans to replace a Charles Stuart on the throne. A single sentence was enough to settle its fate: "Christ is the only right Heir of the Crown of England." When the printed book reached Boston, the author's fellow colonists felt that Eliot had once more taken command of the situation, and that nothing the responsible officials could do would save them from the royal wrath. Then, nothing happened. The "Christian Commonwealths" of Cromwell or of the fanatics were equally a dead issue, and Eliot's belated outburst created not a ripple. If the Massachusetts authorities had not called attention to it by disclaiming responsibility, the preoccupied Court circle might never have heard of it.

The Apostle was recalled to his missionary labors by the news that an experienced printer would soon be on his way to hasten the work on the Bible. The first native church body was gathered at Natick, an Indian village on the Charles River a dozen miles from Roxbury, in 1660. In preparation for organizing it, Eliot is believed to have had the Press supply copies of a CHRISTIAN COVENANTING CONFESSION printed on one side of a single leaf, the size and type as well as the language of the Indian Bible. There is no documentary evidence that it was printed at this time, but there are extant two distinct issues of it. One of these may be a copy of an issue printed in 1660, but this is not certain. A number of other native congregations were assembled subsequently with the aid supplied by the London Society, and it is probable that the Confession was printed more than once in later years.

Both of the surviving copies have a peculiar logotype linked oo, so that they cannot have been printed before Usher brought over the type for the Bible in the summer of 1660. In neither is the impression sharp enough to suggest new type. Each has an Indian version in a left-hand column with a parallel English text alongside, both of which must have been composed by Eliot. In the Edinburgh copy there are three words after the name of Adam in paragraph 4, and a reference to ECCLES.

7.29. that are not in the other, although in both the parallel English is the same; "4. Adam quickly sinned, and was punished. Gen. 3." At the bottom of the right-hand column in the same copy is a statement which is torn out of the other, presumably giving Eliot's rendering of the Indian passage alongside, which is alike in both copies; "Wee compel not any, but meekly say to all let us joyne together to do all this." The statement could have been made with a thought of critical correspondents in the Mother Country.

There are facing facsimiles of the two COVENANTING CONFESSIONS in Pilling's *Algonquian Languages*, Washington 1891. The one that has been known longest is in the Congregational Library in Boston, which happily preserves it in the old pamphlet volume in which it came to them many years ago. The CONFESSION is bound next to a copy of Eliot's *Harmony of the Gospels* which was printed by John Foster at Boston in 1674, and this led Wilberforce Eames to follow others in dating it "167-?" In this copy the bottom paragraph in the English column is torn out and in its place is a slip of paper on which is written; "Not hastily but deliberately we promise, covenanting together, to do all these things." This was copied from a letter written by J. Hammond Trumbull to a Mr. Langworthy who then owned the volume, dated August 3, 1867. John Eliot's rendering of the same Indian text is quoted above. The two provide an opportunity to compare Trumbull's handling of Eliot's Indian language with that of its author.

The other example was given to the library of the University of Edinburgh in 1699 by the Reverend William Traill who wrote on it: "This Indian Confession & Covenant of the Converts in New-England was brought from thence in the year 1690 & afterwards gifted to the Bibliothek of the Colledge of Ed'r (my alma mater) by W. Traill." Its rediscovery was announced in the reissue in 1880 of the reprint of the Edinburgh copy of the Indian Primer of 1669, which contained a photo-lithographic facsimile of the original. This was reproduced slightly reduced in size in Pilling's *Algonquian Languages* of 1891, where it is dated "166-?" In Pilling it is confusedly and correctly stated that no copy is known of an edition of 1660 but the Edinburgh example is described as of that date. The confusion is confounded by Trumbull's statement of his opinion, in his American Antiquarian Society report of 1874, repeated in a chapter in the *Memorial History of Boston* in 1880, that peculiarities of the language of the CONFESSION place it earlier than, but not long before, the Indian Bible.

THE WHEREWITHAL

The first signs of anxiety over the delays at the overseas printing shop did not seem important and found no place in the records of official

worries in London. There must, however, have been inquiries as to what was being accomplished, after the copies of *GENESIS* and *MATTHEW* had been seen and the prosecution of the work authorized. The printer presumably made the obvious reply that so large an undertaking would tax his resources. The type sent in 1655 did not help him after it was decided to use a smaller type, of which he may have had no more than enough to produce the two forms of an almanac. This font had received no replacements since it was brought over by Mr. Glover more than twenty years before, and it had been used more regularly than any other in the shop. Under some such circumstances Samuel Green produced the following document about the first of June, 1658:

To the Honored Generall Court assembled at Boston, the Information & Request of Samuel Green, Printer at Cambridge.

Humbly sheweth,

Whereas yor poare Servant hath (although with many wants & difficultyes) spent some yeares in attending ye service of ye country in that worke of printing, The Presse & the appurtenances thereof, without a speedy supply, & yt especially of letters, & those principally for ye printing of English, is now almost wholly uncapeable of farther improvemt, either for the answering of ye Countreyes expectation, or for the benefitt of such as are employed therein, & ye Colledge (to whome ye presse doe properly belong) have not ability in theyr hands to helpe, so that unlesse some present care bee taken by the wisdom & furtherance of this Honord Court, ye improvemt thereof must of necessity cease, & yor poore servant must bee forced to change either his habitation or employmt or both. The consideration & supply whereof is the humble request of yor poore servant, or if not, yor determination therein, yt so he may more clearely see his way for ye serving of the providence of god in some other calling.

In answer to this pet: the deputies conceive the Consideration hereof should be Commended to the Commissionrs of the united Colonies at their next metinge that so they may write to the Corporation in England if they see meet for the procuring of 20 li worth of letters for the use of the Indian Colledge the deputies have passt this & desire o'r honrd magists Consent heerto. William Torrey Cleric.

Consented to by ye magists. 5 June 1658. Edw. Rawson Secret.

The Corporation did not show that it had heard of Green's wants until March 19, 1658/9, when it voted "that a Catalogue of the severall utensills to be used in printing bee alsoe sent over & that if one of these bee wantinge, it will spoyle the whole." This "alsoe" may refer to talk that did not get on to the record of the previous meeting, on February

26, when the clerk noted that the Commissioners were to be advised that the New Testament should be carried through first, before starting on the Old Testament.

The discussion of the need of utensils for printing in America was an interlude in the consideration of a matter of more immediate concern to those who were taking an active part in the affairs of the Society. They were arranging for the publication in London on their behalf of the ninth in the series of missionary reports that have come to be known as "Eliot Indian Tracts." It was to appear with the title:

A further Accompt of the Progresse of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England, And Of the means used effectually to advance the same. Set Forth In certaine Letters sent from thence declaring a purpose of Printing the Scriptures in the Indian Tongue into which they are already Translated. With which Letters are likewise sent an Epitome of some Exhortations delivered by the Indians at a fast, as Testimonies of their obedience to the Gospell. As also some helps directing the Indians how to improve naturall reason unto the knowledge of the true God. London, Printed by M. Simmons for the Corporation of New-England, 1659.

The action of the Corporation in connection with this publication shows something of the members' attitude, and their point of view when considering the instructions which they gave concerning the printing overseas for which they paid. Letters dated at Boston on December 11 were laid before eight members of the Corporation on February 5, 1658/9, at a regular meeting at which, after disposing of a report from a committee on the value of certain houses in Brides Parish offered for purchase as an investment, it was voted:

That ye Generall Ire Mr. Endicott & Mr Eliot of ye 11 of xber 1658 together with ye Printed shett Intituled helps for the Indians &c And the Epitomy of Exhortation Delyvered by ye Indians att a fast & the abreviacon of Mr Mathews Manuscript bee presented unto Mr [Calamy; *cancelled*] Reynolds that hee would please to Drawe up a short Epistle to the same & Methodize the whole for the presse And this is especially recommended to the care of Mr Floyd Mr Ashurst & Mr Clerke.

Mr Smyth propounded to speak with a Printer & to report.

On February 26 the Treasurer,

Mr Floyd reportes that in pursuance of & accordinge to ye Order & Desire of this Court Have attended Doc. Mr Reynolds with the Ire and Papers in ye

sd Order menconed & that the sd Dr is willinge to peruse & methodize & prepare an Epistle & that his Heart is in the worke &

That 3000 of the bookes in Dr Reynolds hands bee printed

To acquaint ye Dr yt ye sd Bible is printinge in the Indian Language yt hee would mencon in ye Epistle &c

Memor: to be inserted in ye Generall Ire. That ye New Testament bee printed in the Indian Language first before the old.

That John Hooper speak with Mrs. Symonds about ye printing of the 1500 bookes.

Hooper was the clerk who was employed to attend to the business of the Corporation. The discussions which led him to make the above entries were twice interrupted to consider other matters relating to the collection of contributions and to difficulties connected with the investment of the funds. The last entry suggests that Mr. Smyth had reported on his interview with the printer, and that the enthusiasm which proposed an edition of three thousand copies had moderated. There was opportunity for further reconsideration before the next meeting on March 19, when:

Mr Lloyd Mr Ashurst & Mr Clerke or any 2 of them desired to attend Dr Reynolds & to let him understand that the Corpor: doe not thinke fitt to print Mr Mahews Manuscript, & to give him thankes in the Corpors Name for his panes

That this Corpor: doe concur with ye Comrs as to the printing of the Bible in the Indian tounge, & that they bee Desired to print the New testament first: considering the Difficulty & Charge

And that a Catalouge of the severall utensills to bee used in printinge bee alsoe sent over & that if one of those bee wantinge, it will spoyle the whole & therefore

That ye title of the booke bee referred to Dr Reynolds & that one of the last bookes bee presented unto him

That ye Dedecacon of the new booke bee accordinge to ye effect of the last booke

That there be a Postscript att the End of the booke now to bee printed to intimate that the bible is now alsoe about to be printed in the Indian Language

That when ye Corporacon wayte upon his Highnes with the bookes, That they desire him to graunt the duty of Custom & Excise, for paper to bee free in regard of their Charge of printing ye Bible.

And that his Highnes bee alsoe Desired to commend it unto the Judges that they in their respective Printes Doe give [notice that the moneys collected for the Indian Worke; *cancelled*] in Charge to the judges that they

inquire what panes have been employed in collectinge moneyes in the severall Hundreds & Devisions of the Countyes & that such moneyes as remaine in their hands, may bee by them forthwth paid to the Trears appointed for that purpose

Dr. Reynolds' Epistle in the printed tract is dated April 1. The tract consists of six eight-page folds, twelve forms for the pressmen. It was ready for distribution five or six weeks later, for on May 7, after directing that a letter of thanks be sent to Eliot "for his greate paines in printing the Indian Worke," it was voted "That 50 bookes bee sent to ye Comrs for the United Coloneys in New England to bee Disposed as they thinke fitt." Apparently the Commissioners were left free to decide how many copies Eliot was to have. At the next meeting on May 13 it was voted that a letter be prepared to send to the President of the Corporation, whose position was entirely honorary, together with twenty-five copies of the book. There is no evidence in the records of a general distribution of the tract to those engaged in collecting contributions or to the large contributors, although this must have been a reason for paying for the printing. Neither is there any sign of sales to the bookshops. On June 18 it was voted "that a letter be sent unto Mr Cludd to carry on the Collections in the County of Nottingham . . . and that a book be sent unto him which was last printed." More informative is a vote on September 2:

That Mr Lythall Doe peruse the [Treasurer's] Bookes and see wt Parishes within the City of London are uncollected, and to carry Bookes to the Ministers of the sd Parishes & to Desire them to promote the sd Collecons and in case they desire satisfaccon concerninge this busines that they would repaire unto Mr Richard Floyd or att the meeting of this Court att Coopers Hall.

Five weeks later the treasurer was dead and the Corporation met promptly on October 8 to elect Henry Ashurst to his place so that there might be no excuse for any interruption in the collection of rents or of contributions. Meanwhile, on the other side of the Atlantic, John Eliot had not been idle. He undoubtedly received a copy of the *Further Accompt* by the first ship leaving London for New England after May 7, 1659. There would have been an interval while that ship discharged her cargo and filled the hold for the return voyage, and during this time Eliot made ready the material that he had prepared since the preceding December, when his contributions to the *Further Accompt* had been dispatched. The ship which brought him the printed tract must have

had good weather both ways, for five months and a week after its meeting on May 7, the Corporation met on October 17, 1659, to vote:

That a lre be forthwith sent unto Mr Eliot to intimate unto him ye receipte of his with 2 inclosed manuscripts & to Desire him to expedite the printinge of the New Testamt in the Indian language, accordinge to ye Corporacons Desires intimated in their lre unto ye Com for the united Col ye 7 May 1659: a transcript of wch sd lre is to be sent unto ye sd Mr Eliot: & yt ye Corpor: have not had tyme to peruse ye papers: & that they have recd noe lres from ye Comrs for ye united Coloneyes.

Five days later, on October 22, six members met and voted:

That it bee referrd to Mr Trear Mr Hutchinson & Lt Col. Puckle to peruse ye 2 Manuscriptes sent from New Eng. & see whether the same bee fitt to bee printed, and report.

The attention of the active members at this time was chiefly taken up by efforts to collect the rentals from the estates in the country, where the tenants had been warned not to pay by the former owners, loyalists who had sold when they were refugees in attendance on the Court in France. But on December 20 it was voted that:

The Corporacon havinge perused the Manuscripts lately sent from New England concer: the Indians confessions before their admittance into the Church, Doe think fitt that the sd Manuscripts bee printed & in Order heerunto Mr Trer is Desired wth such other of the Members of this Corpor: as hee shall thinke fitt to repare unto Mr Caryll ye Minister that hee would please to Drawe & prepare an Epistle to ye same

Treasurer Ashurst reported on January 21, 1660, that Dr. Caryl was ready and willing to draw the Epistle, after which the members considered the care to be taken regarding the title to property they thought of buying in Essex. Not long after this a ship came in from a winter voyage from Massachusetts, for on February 18 it was voted "That it bee referred to Mr Henry Ashurst Trer to consider of Mr Jno Eliotts lre." A month later another idea was under discussion and on March 17 three members were

Desired to repare unto Mr Calamy &c to consult his advice, & intreate his assistance that ye Provinciaall Assembly of London at Sion Coll would contrybutte their Endeavors towards ye printinge of the Bible . . .

That ye Dedicatory Epistle Drawen & prepared by Mr Caryll this Day

read bee approved & that the same bee printed wth the Indian confessions, & yt 1500 bee printed by Mrs Symones, or such others as shall print the said bookes cheaper, & yt the same bee referd to Col. Puckle to take care heerof.

That Mr Ashurst Tr. &c bee Desired in the Name of this Corporacon to returne Mr Caryll the thanks of the same for his grt paines in Drawinge & preparinge a Dedictory Epistle to the Indianes confessiones intended to bee printed by the sd Corpor:

According to the records neither Dr. Caryl nor Dr. Reynolds received anything but thanks for the use of their valuable names or for the work they did in editing the text and composing the prefatory epistles to these tracts. The treasurer could have pleaded poverty in soliciting their support for this worthy cause, for he was having trouble at the time in meeting the bills drawn on the Society by the Commissioners who had taken up money in Boston on its credit, a practice which had started when funds were plentiful in London.

COST ACCOUNTING

The Corporation was in an economical mood when it met on March 24, 1660, and this may explain why, acting on authority given a week earlier,

Col. Puckle reportes that hee hath agreed with Mr Maycoke a Printer to print ye Indianes Confessions at a farthinge per sheete, & that hee hath bought 20 reames of Paper at 3s 10d per reame.

That the summe of 3li 16s 8d bee pd unto Mr Jno Cade for 20 reames of Paper at 3s 10d per reame

The arrival in London of the manuscript for this, the tenth of the Eliot Indian Tracts, is described in the preceding section. It made an 88-page tract, 11 eight-page folds or 22 four-page forms for the pressmen. Macock's shop must have put it through promptly, for the binder seems to have delivered the first copies six weeks after Colonel Puckle made the contract for printing. The first lines of the title are the same, except for a modernized spelling, as the one of the previous year:

A further Account of the progresse of the Gospel Amongst the Indians in New England: Being A Relation of the Confessions made by several Indians (in the presence of the Elders and Members of several Churches) in order to their admission into Church-Fellowship. Sent over . . . by Mr. John Eliot one of the Laborers in the Word amongst them. London, Printed by John Macock. 1660.

Colonel Puckle was an active member of the community, anxious to serve good causes. As a member of the Corporation he must have known about the printing shop overseas but there is nothing to show that he had any influence on its affairs. In London he upset a long-established connection between the Company and the printer who had served it regularly, and thereby created a significant episode in typographic history. It is an early instance of the application of the "cost-plus" theory of price fixing. No subsequent use of this theory demonstrates more clearly the results that are apt to follow from its adoption.

During the meetings of the Corporation its clerk, Edward Hooper, noted in his record book such action as was taken, subject to human frailties. The data which he preserved for much later historians was supplemented by entries made in a ledger by the Treasurer's counting-house clerk who attended to the affairs of the missionary society. An analysis of their data provides material for an understanding of the current practice in the London printing craft at the time when the Press in the New England Cambridge was most active. This analysis also provides a warning for those who rely unquestioningly upon the evidence of contemporary documentary records.

The eighth of the Eliot Indian Tracts was issued four years before the first of the two described above, with the title:

A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England . . . Being a Narrative of the Examinations of the Indians, about their Knowledge in Religion, by the Elders of the Churches. Related by Mr. John Eliot. Published by the Corporation, established by Act of Parliament, for Propagating the Gospel there. London, Printed by M. S. 1655.

The Treasurer's book contains the following entries in this year:

By Moneys paid Mrs. Symonds for paper and printing of Three Thousand Books Intituled. A late & further manifestation of the progresse of the Gospell & As appeares ye 8th of Sept 1655 in ye Book of Disbursments	58	0012 14 00
By Moneys paid Mr. Lee for blew & Marble paper & for covering & stitching the 3000. Books above menconed As appeares the 15 of Sept: 1655 in ye Book of Disbursments	58	0007 12 00

The above figures concern a thin tract of 32 pages made up of four quarto sheets, calling for eight four-page forms or runs on the press for each of the three thousand copies. They show that each copy cost just over a penny apiece, 3,045 pence in all, for typesetting, presswork, and paper, or a farthing a sheet with an odd four shillings for extras; and

rather more than half as much, 3,648 half-pence, for stitching the sheets and covering them in blue or marbled paper wrappers. The cost per page for composition, presswork, and paper was eight shillings.

When the *Further Accompt* was issued four years later, the treasurer's book recorded:

May 27, 1659 By Moneys paid Mrs. Symonds for paper and printing 3000. Bookes, Intituled A further Accompt of the progresse of the Gospell amongst the Indians in New England, and for fine blue Paper & stitching the said bookes 0024 00 00

The cost per copy of this 48-page pamphlet was 1.92 pence (3,000 for 5,760 pence) compared to 1.624 pence each (3,000 for 4,872 pence) for that of 1655 which was two-thirds the size, proportionately considerably more. England had prospered and there are other signs that the cost of living had risen in the late years of the Protectorate. Calculating roughly, Mrs. Simmons in 1659 got about five-eighths of a farthing per sheet for composition and presswork.

Hooper's entries quoted above state that Colonel Puckle reported that he had contracted with Macock for composition and presswork at a farthing a sheet, and that Macock was paid £8:12:06 for 1,500 copies of an 88-page tract. This is 8,280 farthings for 16,500 sheets, which is half a farthing a sheet. Inasmuch as Colonel Puckle on behalf of the Corporation bought the paper and paid for the binding, this approximated Mrs. Simmons' basic rate for the same work the year before. It justifies a belief that Hooper made a mistake in his entry. This may have been excusable as Colonel Puckle appears from other records to have been a person given to taking matters into his own hands and to making lengthy explanations of what he had done.

Colonel Puckle got his paper at what seemed a cheap price; it seems also to have been a bargain made up of odd lots with different watermarks and of uneven quality, judging from an examination of a few copies of the original edition. He did not buy enough of it the first time, so the first twenty reams had to be supplemented by a second order for which the Treasurer paid £2:17:06 on April 27. If the price was the same as for the first lot this would mean fifteen additional reams, thirty-five in all, making 17,500 sheets. The minimum requirement for the *Further Account*, the tract under discussion, would have been 16,500 sheets, which would leave two reams for wastage and overrun, not an undue

allowance for a job where there was no incentive for care on the part of the workmen or of those who oversaw what was being done.

The binding of this tract was paid for on May 5 and June 27, 1660, the two dates being placed against a single entry:

By moneys paid Mr. Richard Westbrook for foulding, pastinge &
cuttinge of 1500 Bookes

4 05s

This is approximately two-thirds of a penny each. The 1655 tract cost a little over a half-penny each for binding, but it consisted of only four sheets as against nearly three times as many, eleven, for that of 1660. Colonel Puckle seems to have made a good bargain in this also. Doubtless as a further economy, there is no mention of blue paper for wrappers, so that this much larger tract may have been distributed without an outside covering.

John Macock, who got the 1660 job away from Mrs. Simmons, had one of the larger London printing establishments. Some years later it consisted of three presses, three apprentices, and ten workmen. In this same spring of 1660 he secured the appointment of printer to the Parliament in company with the Colonel John Streater who had dared to oppose Cromwell in 1653.

Mrs. Mary Simmons was doubtless the widow of Matthew and mother of Samuel Simmons, for her name appears in London imprints from 1655 to 1667, filling a gap between the death of the former in 1654 and the earliest occurrence of the latter's name on a title page. The two men are best known as printers of the writings of the Puritan politician John Milton. All three were frequently employed by Independent writers. Mr. Plomer notes that Mrs. Simmons, on the evidence of the hearth tax for 1666, had larger premises than any other London printer.

A comparison of the tract printed by Macock in 1660 with that produced by Mrs. Simmons a year earlier leads to some reflections. Mrs. Simmons, working along lines that had been established by the publications in the same series during the previous two decades, made up a full page with 34 lines; Macock stopped at 32. His lines were a half-inch shorter than hers, 6 and 6½ inches respectively. He used a wider "set," supplying his compositors with spaces for use between the words of nearly twice the thickness of those used in the Simmons shop. The net result of this was that each of his full pages contained from 320 to 330

words, whereas hers held from 350 to 365. Macock accomplished this in spite of the fact that his "copy" called for a much larger proportion of italic than appears in the 1659 tract, and italic sets more compactly than roman letters. Macock more than made up for the italic words by the fact that his tract consisted largely of short sections with one-line headings, and this with his shorter pages frequently gave occasion for leaving a few lines blank at the foot of a page, when there was not room enough to start a new section without having it look badly. He also spread his main headings in larger type so that he occupied two inches with forty words whereas she had put the same number into half the space.

The net result of these differences is that Macock's work has a much more modern appearance and is easier to read with its more open page and more attractive headings. In accomplishing this, he managed to fill at least one full sheet more than his less sophisticated, old-fashioned competitor would have required. Without any noticeable compression, set to correspond with the two preceding issues of the same series, this one could have been put into nine and a half sheets or 76 instead of 88 pages. This would have netted a saving of four and a half reams of paper; of three runs on the presses; and a corresponding reduction in the cost of sewing for the bindings, enough to pay for the blue paper covers. Puckle's contract with Macock cost the missionary fund over a pound, about twelve percent more than Mrs. Simmons would have charged on the basis of her work the previous year.

⌘ A preliminary study of the evidence used for this chapter was printed in *Bibliographical Essays: A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames* (Harvard University Press, June 1924) pages 179-192. It was reprinted as *The Eliot Indian Tracts* by George Parker Winship, Cambridge 1925, 18 pages, with facsimiles of pages from the Simmons tract of 1659 and Macock's of 1660 and other additions.

⌘ A mass of widely scattered information relating to printers and their work was assembled by members of the English Bibliographical Society for a series of five Dictionaries of English printers and booksellers prior to 1775 issued by that Society between 1905 and 1932.

MEN AND MATERIALS

The proposal that an experienced printer be employed in London to go to New England and devote all his time to the Bible work had been before the Corporation for more than a year when the arrangements were finally made. It had been submitted in print to those who were support-

ing the missionary work by their contributions. The idea had originated with John Eliot, who wrote on December 28, 1658 in a letter which was printed in the *Further Accompt*:

At the coming away of this ship, I repaired to the Governour about it. I proposed this expedient, for the more easie prosecution of this work, viz. that your selves might be moved to hire some honest young man, who hath skill to compose, (and the more skill in other parts of the work, the better) send him over as your servant, pay him there to his content, or ingage payment, let him serve you here in New-England at the presse in Harvard Colledge, and work under the Colledge Printer, in impressing the Bible in the Indian language, and with him send a convenient stock of Paper to begin withall.

Governor John Endicott complied promptly with Eliot's proposal and after consulting John Norton wrote under the same date, December 28:

I have been moved by divers able and godly men here with us to propound unto your pious consideration, whether it be not needful for the better instruction of the Indians amongst us in the true knowledge of God, to get the whole Bible of the old and new Testament, which is already Translated into the Indian tongue, to be printed; Many here with us Divines and others judge it a thing that will be acceptable to God, and very profitable for the poor Heathens. If your selves do so esteem of it too, it will be necessary to provide paper and letters and such things as may further the work, as also a Journey man Printer to be helpfull under Mr Greene our Printer to expedite the work . . .

Mr Eliot will be ready at all times to correct the sheets as fast as they are Printed, and desireth nothing for his paines.

The Corporation met on May 7, 1659, and although the clerk did not mention it in his record of the meeting, the members must have approved the draft of a letter in reply to the above, which reads:

As to the printing of the bible in the Indian language; mensioned in Mr Endicott's letter; which we understand is already translated into the Indian tongue; we conceive it will not onely bee acceptable unto god, but very profitable to the poor heathen and will much tend to the promotion of the spirituall parte of this worke amongst them; and therefor we offer it not onely as our owne but as the judgment of others that the New Testament bee first printed in the Indian language; and doe desire to understand by the next what number of them you intend to have printed; and how much paper the number will take up and that you send over one sheet of paper which might agree with that already printed and whether you have materialls sufficient to carry on the

same; and because wee would have noe faile therin have thought good to send you over a catalogue of the materialls fitt for printing with the charge of them according to information given us; because we are advertised that if any of them bee wanting it may prejudice the finishing of the worke and as for a printer if you want one wee desire you to send us word how he must be qualified whether a Composer or letter printer.

The Commissioners replied on September 7:

touching the printing of the bible in the Indian language being incouraged by your selves and pressed by Mr Elliotts affectionate zeale which hee hath constantly held forth for this work, wee shall take order for the printing of the New Testament; which being finished wee shall therby bee the better directed in our further proceeding therin; wee thinke to print a thousand Coppies, and for paper and other materials shall depend on Mr Usher whoe hath undertaken to furnish according to the printers direction.

In the Boston treasurer's account which was sent with the September letter there was an entry; "To Mr Usher for printing letters for the bible. . . . 80l:07s:06d." About this time also there arrived from London a press and other requisites for the work which were shipped by the Corporation and placed under the care of Green.

The exact state of the work that was being done at Cambridge under Eliot's direction at the time the above letters were written is uncertain. The selection of INDIAN PSALMS had reached London in the winter of 1658/9 and on the following May 7 the Corporation requested a sample sheet of the paper that it was planned to use for the Bible. This does not mean that it was thought that the work was ready for printing. The mention of "that already printed" might refer to the PSALMS or the earlier GENESIS and MATTHEW, with a wish to make sure that their size was still considered desirable. The Commissioners met in September and voted to proceed with the arrangements. Within the next six months Eliot supplied the printers with the revised copy for the early chapters of MATTHEW, and eight pages of this, to fill a sample sheet, were put into type and printed. This reached London and was in the hands of the Corporation on April 28, 1660 when they made the arrangements with Johnson, so that he had an opportunity to see exactly what was ahead of him when he agreed to work twelve hours a day setting the type of the translation.

The printers as well as the translator had learned some things from the trial issues of 1655. One of these was that the Bible would make a

publication of considerable size that would stretch the resources of its sponsors to a point that might try their patience. It was decided to reduce the cost wherever practicable. Another was that the Indian language would use a different assortment of letters from those in European fonts. The GENESIS had been printed with the supply on hand in the shop and there must have been a good amount of this type because the translation called for much more than the normal proportion of the letters o, k, and q. The whole Bible in this size type would have been unwieldy as well as costly.

Eliot and those with whom he consulted in the colony decided to order a special font for the Bible work. It was recognized by Isaiah Thomas in 1810 as "full faced bourgeois on a brevier body." A sufficient supply was secured to complete the Bibles of 1663 and 1685. The order was handled by Hezekiah Usher, who undoubtedly delivered it before he was paid for it in September 1659. That it did not reach Cambridge long before that meeting is implied by the fact that Green was not paid "for distributing the font of letters" until after the beginning of another financial year. Green may, however, have waited until the type was needed before disturbing the packages. This type must have been secured from a foundry rather than from a jobber's stock because it included one character that had to be specially cast, a logotype or linked oo for a peculiar sound in the native speech, and also a larger proportion than usual of the letters k and q for the guttural sounds. The order must have been decided on several months earlier in order to allow for two transatlantic voyages as well as for the filling of the specifications at the foundry.

The indications are that this type had been under discussion in the previous December and that the decision to order it had then been made, before the letters quoted above were written. Governor Endicott's remark that "it will be necessary to provide paper and letters" might mean that he knew of the talk but had not been entrusted with the decision. Nothing was said about type in Eliot's letter of the same date in which he proposed the provision of "some honest young man . . . with a convenient stock of paper." When the Corporation replied on May 7, nothing was said about type although a catalogue had been obtained "of the materials fit for printing." The order for type must have left Boston a good while before the letter that enclosed the catalogue could have reached America. The first that the Londoners heard of it seems to have been when they learned that it had been paid for with their money in September. One reason why they had not heard about it when they con-

sulted Usher's London correspondent in regard to this whole business may have been that the order had been sent to Amsterdam or elsewhere in the Low Countries where the best foundries offered the lowest prices and where New England merchants maintained active connections not always second to London.

These considerations suggest that the Boston men—the officials and the clergy as well as the merchants and craftsmen—were agreed in a desire to keep as much of the business as possible in local hands. On the other hand, the Londoners knew full well that the prices of everything were higher in the colony than in London, where there were better bargains to be had, advantageous opportunities to be grasped, and where profits and freight would accrue to those who furnished much of the money to pay for them. Many passages in this correspondence become clearer when the conflict of financial interests is kept in mind.

There is evidence that neither Day nor Green operated the Press singlehanded. When they jointly signed the statement of what they conceived to be the truth according to their best knowledge of Dunster's income from the printing business, they deducted "a just allowance being given for the hire of the laborers about the presse (or at least such as was allowed to the printers)." Reasons have been given for thinking that the men who were engaged on the *GENERALL LAWES* of 1648 helped to produce the *PLATFORM* of 1649. There may have been a certain amount of novelty in the Indian work of 1654 and 1655. If this wore off after it became certain that the entire Bible was to be printed, Eliot's illness may not have been the only reason for the delay in finishing the selection of *INDIAN PSALMS*. After this little book was completed, there was more talk of the Bible and then came news that a stranger was coming from England to do this work. The local craftsmen may then have realized that there were compensations in the prompt and generous pay even though the work lacked intrinsic interest. Before the new man, Marmaduke Johnson, arrived in the summer of 1660 some arrangement had been made which assured that the old hands would share in the distribution of the pious benefaction.

One other addition was made to the staff in preparation for the Indian work. It was mentioned in the letter from the Commissioners written on September 10, 1660:

Two of the Indian youths formerly brought up to read and write are put apprentice; the one to a carpenter, the other to Mr Green the printer, who take their trades and follow their business very well.

There is no evidence that the printer's apprentice was named James or that he was the native lad of that name who was being housed unwillingly by President Dunster more than a dozen years earlier, but both are probable. There was a native known as James Printer who made himself useful until 1707 and who may have begun as a printer's devil while the New Testament of 1661 was in hand. If so, there is no way of telling whether he proved helpful if doubts ever arose concerning the spelling of native words or the meaning of phrases.

Two other converts sent by Mayhew from Martha's Vineyard were enrolled at the College at this period. President Chauncy mentioned them in a letter whereby he sought to divert a portion of the Society's benevolence from the printer to the College treasury. Under date of October 2, 1664 he wrote:

It were to be wished that both in Grammar Schools and in our Colledge also there should be appointed by your selves a fit salary for schoole maisters and Tutors in the Colledge for every Indian that is instructed by them to incourage them in the worke, wherein they have to deale with such nasty savages, and of whom they are to have a greater care and diligent inspection: as it used to bee in Colledges and Universities in the education of fellow commoners wch in Oxford hath bene no lesse than 2l by the quarter. I speake not in regard of myselfe, though I have trained up two of the Indians and instructed them in Arts and languages untill that nowe they are in some good measure fit to preach to the Indians and doe it wth hope of comfortable successe.

A year later, on September 13, 1665 the Commissioners wrote:

The Providence of ye Lord referring to ye two Indian Studts at ye Colledge have been very sad & humbling yt one of ym goeing home to visit his parents about 100 miles distant on Martins Vinyard in his returne ye vessell wherein hee was being cast away, both hee & all ye soules in it about 7 or 8 Persons were lost, whether by shipwrack or by massacre of ye Indians wee cannot yet certainly find out; the other surviveing took his degree this summer of Bachellor of Art but is now fallen into a deep Consumption an epidemicall disease among the natives & mortall soe that there remaines littell hope of his life. Ye remainder are in No. 7 whereof one is lately entred into ye Colledge, a towardly lad & apt witt for a scholler. & ye other 6 are at ye schoole, 3 of them at Roxberry to learn English, & 3 at ye Gramr Schoole in Cambridge but they also are in ye Lords hands.

The graduate of the class of 1665 was Caleb Cheeshahteumuck, the only aboriginal American to gain a place on the roll of Harvard alumni. He died in 1666.

THE RESTORATION

Samuel Pepys, starting a diary on January 1, 1659/60, recorded his disappointment in his wife and turned his attention to national affairs:

The condition of the state was that; viz, the Rump, after being disturbed by my Lord Lambert, was lately returned to sit again. The officers of the Army all forced to yield. Lawson lies still in the river, and Monk is with his army in Scotland. . . . The new Common Council of the City do speak very high; and had sent to Monk their sword-bearer, to acquaint him with their desires for a full and free Parliament, which is at present the desires, and the hopes, and expectation of all. . . .

On Shrove Tuesday, March 6, Pepys went to the lodgings of Sir Edward Montague, not yet Earl of Sandwich but known by the honorary title of My Lord in the circles of the Protectorate, who

called me by myself to go along with him into the garden . . . and asked me whether I could, without too much inconvenience, go to sea as his secretary, and bid me think of it. He also began to talk of things of State, and told me that he should want one in that capacity at sea, that he might trust in, and therefore he would have me to go. He told me also, that he did believe the King would come in. . . .

Montague took up his post on shipboard on March 23 and for the next three weeks there was infinity of business for his confidential secretary. On April 14 Pepys wrote:

what with the goodness of the bed and the rocking of the ship I slept till almost ten oclock and then rose and drank a good morning draught . . . 15th. (Lords Day). Up early and was trimmed by the barber . . . Mr Cook came back from London with a packet which caused my Lord to be full of thoughts all day, and at night he bid me privately to get two commissions ready, one for Capt. Robert Blake to be captain of the Worcester, in the room of Capt. Dekings, an anabaptist, and one that had witnessed a great deal of discontent with the present proceedings. . . . whereby I perceive that General Monk do resolve to make a thorough change to make way for the King. From London I hear that since Lambert got out of the Tower, the Fanatiques had held up their heads high, but I hope all that will come to nothing. . . .

On that same April 14, when London City merchants must have known a great deal more about what was in the air than the new Admiral's

secretary, there was a meeting of the Corpration for New England at which the first business was:

That it bee considered by Mr Trer & such others as hee shall thinke fitt to prepare some Proposiccons in Writing agt the next Court, to be made unto the Printer, for the oblidginge of him to carry on the Printinge of the Bible in the Indian language in N. E. for the best advantage of the Worke.

Treasurer Ashurst had another engagement connected with the Bible business two days later, when he had an appointment

to repare to Mr Ashe the Ministers howse to treat wth the Comttee of Ministers appoynted by Sion Colledge in order to the printinge of the Bible in the Indian Language in N. Engl.

At a meeting on April 21:

Mr Trer reportes that in pursuance of the Order & Desires of this Court of the 14 instant hee hath treated wth the Printer about goinge into N. E. to print ye Bible in the Indian Language & reportes that the Printer is willinge to goe & bee Employed in that service at the Salary of 40li pr Ann. besides Dyett, lodginge & washinge, & a Quarters Salary advaunce & his tyme to bee there for three yeares, & more if the Corporacon or Comrs for the united Coloneys please; to commence from the tyme of his goinge on shipp board, & the Corporacon to pay his passage thither

And the sd Marmaduke Johnson is contented & willinge to give security unto the Corporacon to performe the Agreemt above menconed, and it is ordered that Articles bee forthwth prepared accordinge to the agreement above menconed.

Ordered, That it bee referred unto Mr Hen: Ashurst & Col. Puckle to buy such printinge paper to bee sent to N. Engl for printinge the Bible in the Indian language, as they shall thinke fitt, & the sd Mr Ashurst Trer is Desired to pay for the same Accordingly.

Meeting again four days later it was voted:

That 100 reame of Paper at 5s viijd per Rheame bee provyded and bought by Mr. Henry Ashurst & Col. Puckle to bee sent to N. Engl for printinge the Bible in the Indian language, and that it bee referred unto Mr Bell to take care that the same bee packed & shipt the Staconer of whome the sd Paper is bought is to bee att charge of shippinge for wch hee is to bee allowed the half Subsidy.

That ye Articles of Agreemt prepared & reade this Day made betweene this

Corporacon & Marmaduke Johnson of London Statconer to goe in N Engl for 3 yeares, &c. bee approved & allowed & yt ye Comon Seale of the sd Corpor: bee affixed thereunto.

The "Articles of agreement indented, made, concluded, and agreed upon" were signed by Johnson on April 21. They provided in equally expansive language for all the anticipated conditions:

And that he the said Marmaduke Johnson shall and will during the said term and terms do and use his best endeavor, art, skill, and knowledge as well in setting as in all other works and employments touching the printing of the said Bible and other books aforesaid. And shall work twelve hours in every day at the least in the same employment (Sabbath days excepted) or otherwise make reasonable allowance and satisfaction to the said President and Society or their successors for his neglect therein. . . .

In Consideration whereof the said President and Society . . . shall and will also well and truly pay or cause to be paid . . . the yearly salary or sum of forty pounds of lawful money of England per annum . . . to be paid in London aforesaid quarterly by ten pounds every quarter of a year. . . . And also they the said President and Society . . . will at their own costs and charges likewise find, provide, and allow unto the said Marmaduke Johnson during his said service and employment good and sufficient meat drink washing and lodging . . .

On the margin of the entry of April 21 the clerk added "Marmaduke Johnson is the Printer's name" and against that of May 22 is the more important "Memo: Marmaduke Johnson went from Gravesend ye 14 May 1660, from wch tyme his Salary is to begin at 40li pr Ann:" For reasons that came to light later, the printer was ready to sail on short notice, and a fortnight after the articles were approved he was on his way. The record for the meeting of May 22 reads:

Whereas it appeares that Mr Tho: Bell one of the Members of this Corporacon hath pd five poundes for the passage of Marmaduke Johnson shipped on board the Prudent Mary bound for New Engl. & more the summe of 18s for a bed, Boulster, rugg & one Blankett for his accomodacon in his voyage to N. Engl aforesd. It is ordered that Mr Henry Ashurst Trer of this Corporacon bee Desired to pay the sd Mr Tho Bell for sd severall summes by him Disbursed accordingle.

This evidence that the *Prudent Mary* with the printer aboard set sail for Massachusetts on May 14 is confirmed by a diary kept by one of his fellow voyagers who noted that with a companion he went on board

that ship on May 4, giving their names as Richardson and Stevenson. Under the date of July 27 the diarist wrote that "Wee came to Anchor between Boston, & Charlestown; between 8. & 9. in ye morning." Another of the ship's company, Daniel Gookin, entertained these two travelers at his home in Cambridge, where they were the object of much attention as "The Colonels." Maybe prudent Captain Peirce of the *Mary* had delayed his departure from Gravesend until the royal catchpoles went elsewhere to search for fleeing regicides. These two had been in the Bay Colony for over half a year when the agents of the colony in London decided that the time had come to drop the policy of procrastination which had reflected the hope of the New Englanders that something might happen to upset the plans of the restorers. On February 11, 1660/61 those agents presented:

The Humble Petition and Address of the General Court sitting at Boston in New-England, unto the High and Mighty Prince Charles the Second. . . . May it please your Majesty to cast a favorable eye upon your poor Mephisheths . . . by reason of lameness in respect of distance, not until now appearing in your presence, we mean New-England . . . We forget not our Ineptness as to these approaches. We at present own such Impotency, as renders us unable to excuse our Impotency of speaking unto our Lord the King . . . To supplicate . . . the continuance both of our Civil Priviledges, according to (and of our Religious Liberties) the Patent conferred upon this Place . . .

This petition was acknowledged four days later in a gracious letter in the King's name, but this was followed on March 5 by another more peremptory communication. When these reached Boston they were officially published on May 6, and eleven days later the Governor issued an order to search for the regicide Colonels Whalley and Goffe who had then last been heard of at New Haven. The King's letter and his order to apprehend the fugitives were circulated in print but no copy of either is known. It was presumably a single broadside. Governor Thomas Hutchinson probably had a copy of it, for he reprinted the acknowledgment of the Petition in his *Collection of Original Papers relating to Massachusetts Bay* in 1769. Four years before this date the Boston mob had distributed the contents of the loyalist Governor's mansion, which had also contained the regicide's diary, through its windows. Neither has since been seen. All that is known about the printed broadside is in a letter written by Governor Endicott shortly after the requisite action had been taken in 1661:

At the same time that I received your honour's letter and order, I also received from the secretary of state, Sir William Morrice, his majesty's most gracious letter in answer to our humble address to his majesty, with his majesty's order for the searching after and apprehending of Col. Whalley and Goffe, and sending them over in order to their trial for having a hand in the most horrid murder of our late sovereign, Charles the First, of glorious memory, both which I caused to be printed here for the better furtherance of his majesty's service.

What is known about the printer who crossed on the same ship with the two regicides justifies a belief that when Marmaduke Johnson embarked at Gravesend he was a young married man, old enough to know his way around without knowing any too well how to take care of himself. He apparently agreed with his friends that he had better start life afresh well away from London. A member of a bookselling family, he had been apprenticed to the printing side of the business and had felt justified in writing *Typographer* after his name for literary purposes. He drew his salary by giving a Boston merchant a bill of exchange on his older brother Thomas, who presented this to the treasurer of the Corporation, and in other respects looked after the younger craftsman's interests.

Four Johnsons, Edward, John, Salomon, and W., each with a note that "His address has not been found" are listed for the years from 1641 to 1647. Equally unplaced is James, who is found as a publisher of political broadsides and pamphlets from 1660 to 1663. Thomas on the other hand had a creditable career from 1642 to 1677. For a few years after 1661 he issued publications from two addresses. In an official survey of the craft made in 1668 Thomas is returned as having two presses and three workmen. Ten years earlier, in 1658, he issued an eight-page catalogue of books printed and sold by him, listing thirty-six works on various subjects with titles set out in full. It was a year after this, in 1659, that he entered on the Stationers Register a publication of greater present interest, for its author was Marmaduke Johnson:

Ludgate What it is not, What it was. Or a Full Discovery and Description of the Nature and Quality, Orders and Government of that Prison by Mr. Johnson Topograph a late Prisoner There.

The elder brother had his own troubles later, for in 1666 Thomas was himself in Ludgate for printing a book that gave offense to the authorities, for which he was bound over in £500 for good behavior.

☞ The data regarding the Johnson printers is from Henry R. Plomer's *Dictionary of English Booksellers and Printers, 1641-1667*, London, The Bibliographical Society, 1907.

☞ Governor Endicott's reply to the royal order to apprehend the two regicides was printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society in its *Collections* in 1825, but its contribution to the bibliography of the Cambridge Press was first recognized by Lemuel A. Welles when he was preparing his *History of the Regicides in New England* printed in 1927.

☞ A copy of the agreement with Johnson which was sent to the Commissioners probably at the time it was extended for a fourth year was printed with the records of the Plymouth Commissioners in the volume of *Massachusetts Colony Records* dated 1859. This was printed again in G. E. Littlefield's *Early Massachusetts Press*, Boston 1907.

CHAPTER X

PRINTING THE BIBLE IN INDIAN

ROUTINE PROGRESS

ELIOT's translation of the GOSPEL OF MATTHEW was printed in the autumn of 1655. The first chapters of this, with such changes as the translator decided on four years later, were reset in the smaller type for which Usher was paid in September 1659, and these, making the two forms of a single sheet, eight pages, went through the press before the end of the winter of 1659/60. It was probably only a sample run, to show how the work would look and subject to criticism. The type pages were presumably then tied up to await further orders from London. These came in a letter dated April 28:

Concerning your printing of the New Testament in the Indian language, a sheet wherof you have transmitted to us, wee concur with your selves therein, and doe approve of that provision you have made for printing, conceiving and offering as our judgments that it is better to print fifteen hundred then but a thousand; hoping that by incouragement from Sion Collidge, with whom wee have late conference, you may bee enabled to print fifteen hundred of the ould Testament likewise; knowing that the foundation of true religion is from the bible the ould and New Testament and that the furtherance therof is of principle concernment;

and further considering the mutablenes of the times and the lives of those whose hartes are stired up in that worke especially Mr. Elliott whoe wee heare hath translated the whole bible into the Indian language wee have out of our desire to further a worke of soe great concernment haveing hopes that something will bee collected in particular with relation to the printing of the ould Testament, agreed with an able Printer for three yeares upon the tearmes and conditions enclosed and understanding by Mr Ushers agent that there is nothing wanting except paper wee have sent an hundred and four reames of every sune * the sheet that is now sent over to us is of; That soe there might bee nothing to hinder the dispatch of the whole bible hoping that both presses being employed and all other business layed aside that might hinder it,

* The letter as received from London and read at the meeting of the Commissioners undoubtedly made sense, but the clerk who rewrote it in the record book of the Plymouth members of the board apparently did not understand one word that was used.

there wilbee a happy progresse made by the returne of the next shippes which may much further contribution with relation to it;

and although wee have by our former letters desired that for the reasons menconed the sume of five hundred pounds per annum onely may bee charged on us yett with respect to youer present imergencies in relation to the printing of the New Testament; we have bine willing to comply with youer desires in paying the bill of eight hundred pounds this year drawne on us, which wee hope together with the one hundred twentyfive pounds twelve shillings and ten pence remaining in the stocke in Mr Ushers hands will more then finish the worke of printing the same. . . .

Wee desire you at the earnest request of Mr Johnson the Printer and for his encurragement in this undertaking of printing the bible in the Indian language his name may bee menconed with others as a printer and person that hath bine Instrumentall therin.

Marmaduke Johnson and the above letter reached Boston, perhaps by the same boat, by the end of July 1660. Six weeks later, on September 10, the Boston treasurer who handled the missionary money entered in his accounts:

To Mr Green for distributing the fontt of letters and printing six sheets of the New Testament in Indian at four pounds per sheet 24 00 00

The rate charged for these six sheets, £4 for an eight-page fold or ten shillings a page, is more than Green received later but not more than could have been justified by the novelty of the work and the difficulty of the text to the compositors. That the size of the bill did not pass unnoticed even though nothing could be done about it may be surmised from another vote passed at this New Haven meeting, already quoted. This directed the Massachusetts Commissioners to account with Green for a payment made to him a year before for Peirson's CATECHISM before he had finished it. As the printer was induced to rebate £5, it looks as if the Boston people knew of Green's charging habits. This may have had something to do with the slowness with which the Press picked up a general business. Two years later Green was paid fifty shillings a sheet when Johnson was helping with the work for which he charged £4 in 1660, with an extra pound when Johnson was an absentee.

With six sheets of the New Testament in their hands for examination in September 1660, the Commissioners considered the whole question of printing the Bible. They had heard from the Corporation under date of April 28, advising an edition of 1,500 copies of the New Testament and expressing a hope that if the work was hastened and this portion of the

whole finished soon, money would be provided for the same number of the Old Testament. In reply the Commissioners reported on September 10:

wee shall attend youer advise for the Impression of the whole bible . . . and such order is taken by the advise of Mr Eliot Mr Usher Mr Green and Mr Johnson that the Impression of the ould and New Testament shalbee carryed on together which they have alreddy begun and Resolve to prosecute with all diligence; a sheet of Geneses wee have seen which wee have ordered shalbee Transmitted unto you; the printers doubt not but to print a sheet every weeke and compute the whole to amount to a hundred and fifty sheets.

The calculation shows that the craftsmen were no novices at typography any more than as businessmen. The INDIAN BIBLE was finished 139½ weeks later and it consists of 149 sheets, seven of which had been done when the calculation was submitted. The sheet-a-week schedule was maintained for thirteen months, until October 1661, when Johnson absented himself from the Green shop; it was six weeks behind on September 10, 1662, when he had been back at work for half a year; 45 sheets were done during the next 36 weeks and the Bible was finished on May 14, 1663, which was the day when Johnson's three-year contract terminated, a day which Green had been awaiting hopefully. During 220 working days in 1662-63, 354 printed pages (6 being blank) were put into type and over a thousand copies printed, a total of well over a hundred thousand pulls of the hand presses.

The typesetters averaged 1⅔ double-column pages for those last 220 days. Each column has 62 lines or not infrequently one or two lines more; each line contains from 35 to 40 characters in brevier type, ten lines measuring one inch. When the typesetter had a page ready to go to the pressman, without counting corrections he may have had to make, he had handled at least 4,500 pieces of type metal. The pressman had to have eight pages in type in order to fill the four-page chase or form with which to impress one side of a sheet; to keep the pressmen busy, eight more pages had to be ready when the full number of impressions had been pulled of the second of the two forms that went on a sheet. When two presses were available, as they were much of the time while the Bible was being printed, if the second set of eight pages was in type when the first form of the first eight was finished, the time could be halved. The type of the first eight, well over 37,000 characters, had to be put back in the proper boxes in the type cases before the work could start on the third set of eight pages. If there was an ample supply of

type, in excess of the 75,000 characters in use at one time, a compositor could begin work on the seventeenth page, the first of a third set of eight, while another was distributing the type of the first form that went to press. Each compositor, however, had to distribute the type which he was to use in setting his next "take" or assigned share of the work, because otherwise he would be penalized by mistakes or carelessness in the distribution. The evidence shows that the printers of the Indian Bible regularly kept four chases, two sets of each, in use in rotation, and that on at least one occasion the regularity was interrupted. The whole number of characters actually on hand and in use had to be considerably larger than the number, at least 150,000, in use at any one time, to allow for the inevitable variation in the words, and letters, in different portions of the text.

☞ The figures given above can be verified from a copy of the original issue of the Testament dated 1661 or of the INDIAN BIBLE of 1663, of which more than sixty are widely distributed in public institutions and private libraries, or from a single leaf of which 179 were sold by C. E. Goodspeed and Company bound with the title *The First American Bible A Leaf from a Copy of the Bible printed at Cambridge in 1663 With an Account of the Translator and his Labors and of the two Printers who produced the Book*. Boston, Merrymount Press, 1929.

TYPOGRAPHICAL COMPLICATIONS

There are reasons for thinking that before the Indian Bible was finished the printers organized their work efficiently, but there were trials before the sheet-a-week schedule worked smoothly. The Bible type was paid for in September 1659 and was distributed to the cases a few months later so that the first eight pages of the Gospel of Matthew could be put through the press in order to show what the Bible would look like. A copy of this first sheet was in London late in April 1660. The work on this had interrupted that on the second compilation of Massachusetts GENERAL LAWES which kept the craftsmen busy until summer. The London printer Marmaduke Johnson reached Cambridge ready to go to work, for which he had been drawing pay since May 14, on July 27. Meanwhile there is a possibility that Green had started his men on the Bible work, in anticipation of the new man's expected arrival. With the first two forms of the New Testament already in type, if it is assumed that they had been tied up for future use after the sample sheets had been pulled some six months before, the pressmen could have gone to

their work at once while the compositor proceeded with the first of the second set of eight pages. On September 10 Green was paid for six sheets at a rate of £4 a sheet, but this included distributing the type purchased a year earlier as well as the work on the sample sheet, which was one of the six, although the typesetting, but not the presswork of 1,500 copies, might have been expected to be paid for when the work was done. Ordinarily a printer would have had to fill his type case with new type, which took less of his time than when used type had to be distributed, but it is possible that Green as well as the Commissioners did not know this.

When the Commissioners paid for six sheets of the New Testament they were also shown one sheet of Genesis which they ordered to be sent to London. At this time there was a conference of the two printers, Green and Johnson, with Eliot and Usher, the author of the translation and the businessman who attended to paying the bills and who would be depended upon to see that the charges were correct. This conference reported that the work could proceed at a sheet a week and that at this rate it would be finished within the term of Johnson's contract. It was also proposed that the work be carried on with the Old and New Testaments being printed at the same time. This proposal was forwarded to London and the sheet of Genesis presumably means that this was what Johnson had been doing since he came to work six weeks before. One sheet would not necessarily be all that he had accomplished, for he might have had a second eight pages of the Pentateuch nearly completed, and he may have had to do everything himself.

After sending the sheet of Genesis to London, somebody could have reread the letter from the Corporation of April 28, with its pointed suggestion of a hope "that both presses being imployed and all other business layed aside that might hinder it there will be a happy progress made by the return of the next ships which may much further contribution," i.e. the gifts which would make possible 1,500 copies of the Old as well as the New Testament. Nothing more is heard of the Old Testament until after the New was completed by the time the spring voyages reached New England.

The printed Bible provides evidence that there was a change in the way the work was carried on about the middle of September 1660. The first six sheets of the New Testament, A-F, contained the Gospel of Matthew, and Mark to the middle of verse 9 of Chapter ix. There was no immediate innovation and the work proceeded regularly for five more

sheets, G to L, which should have taken into October. This completed three Gospels, the sheet L ending with the end of Luke. Then John's Gospel began with a new set of signatures, Aa, the doubled letters continuing to the end of the New Testament on Xx₃.

The evidence of the number of lines on a page shows that the planning to end Luke with a full sheet began when they were working in the middle of Mark. The BIBLE had been planned to have two columns of 62 lines each on a page, with room below for a catchword within the limits of the metal chase in which the type of the four pages on one side of a sheet was locked securely to be placed on the press. From the start the compositor made use of the bottom catchword line to hold one or two words when by so doing he could complete a verse without running it over to the top of the next column or even to another page. After the middle of Mark, on the signature I₃, the typesetter began to pick up an extra line more frequently, putting the text into the bottom line of about half the columns. As he started the last fold, signature L, he figured that this bottom line would not be quite enough to enable him to complete the text of Luke within the eight pages of this sheet. On the second page of this fold, L₁verso, he raised the text so as to gain an extra line at the top as well as at the bottom, giving 64 lines in each column. He did not do this on either side of the next leaf, L₂, because on both pages the four bottom verses came awkwardly at the foot of the columns, and he may have seen that he could make it. He used the top line of L₃recto, kept to 63 lines on the reverse, caught up with his limit by using 64 lines on next to his last page, L₄recto, and came out exactly even with a crowded 62 lines on the last page of the fold, so that this matched correctly the facing page Aa₁, the first of the Gospel of John beginning the new set of signatures. These were tricks of typography that an experienced craftsman would have been familiar with.

The assumption is that at some time during these autumn weeks Johnson laid aside the work on Genesis and fitted himself into a schedule of work in coöperation with Green's men. As he was on salary while they must have been on a piecework arrangement, the obvious solution would have been for Johnson to do the composition of the Indian text, which could not have been paid for equitably on any customary rate, while it made no difference to the pressmen what went on to the paper that passed through their hands. The payments approved by the Commissioners at the end of this year successfully avoid any revelation of what actually happened. Green's men may have gone on as before to the

end of Mark while Johnson started on his new assignment with the beginning of John and Aa. However it was managed, the year's work came out exactly on schedule, without a sign that there may have been any paralleling or dove-tailing. With the six sheets A-F paid for on September 10, the next five, G-L, would have taken to the middle of October. The rest of the New Testament went on to 21 sheets, Aa-XX, and this number of weeks ended early in March. The next report of progress was that the Pentateuch was finished in September 1661. It took 26 sheets marked A-Z, Aa-Cc, and that number of weeks before September 10 would have begun about the middle of March.

After the report to the meeting on September 10 the work proceeded regularly so far as known for another month until, again in October, Johnson was summoned to appear before the Grand Jury and thereafter he kept out of Father Green's way. The evidence is conflicting, but Johnson certainly earned half of this year's salary, so that he presumably was back on the Indian work about the beginning of the Old-Style year 1662. After this the shop bettered its sheet-a-week record and also produced other printing, some of which has Johnson's name as well as Green's in the imprint. There is again nothing to show what the arrangements were between the two.

It was a situation to puzzle a cost accountant, although the participants do not seem to have had any difficulty in getting paid for their work. The shop and the Glover-Dunster equipment now belonged to the College. It was under Green's management, with President Chauncy apparently having little if anything to say about it. Green would properly have used this equipment for the work on which he put his name in the imprint. Johnson and other workmen who helped with the Indian work would have used the type supplied by Usher and the press and other appurtenances sent by the Corporation in 1659. The College press was also undoubtedly used when not otherwise engaged, as the Corporation had urged. All of the work of all of the men was done in the same room in the Indian College which the Corporation had paid for.

Johnson was paid £40 a year in sterling besides good and sufficient meat, drink, washing, and lodging. In New England money this was equivalent to considerably more than a pound a week. When he was working, one sheet a week was completed, and when he was away Green collected an additional pound for each sheet done without his help, but Green only did 21 sheets in 26 weeks, a drop of 20%. He regularly received five-sevenths of the standard weekly charge allowed for the Bible

work, for the part done by his workmen. There is nothing to show whether Green was himself one of those who worked regularly in the shop. He had been in charge of it for more than ten years and undoubtedly learned how to print, but it is not impossible that he gave most of his attention to the managerial functions, helping out in emergencies. The only thing that is quite certain about the Cambridge Press at the time when the INDIAN BIBLE was being printed is that the College to which it belonged got nothing out of it except the Commencement programs and maybe copies of the almanacs.

There is evidence that something disrupted the routine of the work while sheet L, the last of the incomplete series of signatures at the beginning of the New Testament, was being printed. The workman who made up the two forms of this sheet forgot twice to change the page heading, once on each side of the sheet, so that the number of an earlier chapter is printed in the heading of most of the copies. This may have been detected and corrected before the last of the sheets had been printed, but this is doubtful. "Chap. 10" is repeated from leaf I₄ on L₂ and "Chap. 15" reappears on L₄ from K₈. This is a kind of oversight that printers are familiar with. It occurs not infrequently in earlier publications, and to the present day may be seen occasionally when a magazine or newspaper appears with the date or serial number of the preceding issue.

Chapter 10 of the Gospel of Luke is found on the seventh page of sheet I and its heading reappears on the third page of sheet L. Both pages are on an inside form, made up of pages 2-3, 6-7, and the sequence of chases is correct as the other three chases in use would have held the two sides of sheet K and the other four pages of L. The heading had, however, been shifted somehow from the seventh to the third page of the form. This might have happened if an inexperienced workman had thoughtlessly turned the chase end for end as it came off the press and before the type was loosened for removal to make way for the type of the next form. This would have put the seventh page heading on the third page, where the workman forgot to change the number of the chapter to that of the new page of type. The practice then as always was to leave the headline, which also held the page numbers, undisturbed in the chase when the type of the page of text was lifted out after it had been on the press, changing the number of the page and, in the INDIAN BIBLE, that of the chapter of the new text, before it was locked up to go back to the press. Turning the chase around would have altered the order of all

the pages but this would have made no difference when the numbers were changed correctly. In this case one of them was overlooked.

The other oversight does not fit into any simple explanation. "Chap. 15" occurs correctly on the fifth page of the outside form of K and it reappears on the seventh page of the inside form of L, which is where the heading from I₄ (mentioned in the previous paragraph) would have been if the chase had not been turned around. The "Chap. 15" heading must have been taken out inadvertently from the chase in which it had first gone to the press, after the run of the edition had been finished, and then misplaced in the other chase that was being used next ahead of the one out of which it had been taken, thus going into the one in which there was already another oversight. This is a sort of stupid mistake that might have been made by a new hand who knew nothing about the routine of the craft. It is equally possible that these blunders are evidence that at that time something was happening which upset the equanimity of the staff in the Indian College, which is known to have happened twelve months later.

Nearly all of the surviving copies of the New Testament that have been sufficiently described have on the Indian title a square ornamental centerpiece made up of small printers' ornaments or "flowers" arranged in triangles pointing up or down with 7, 5, 3, and 1 characters in the lines. A few, at least three of the forty-odd traced in 1890 by Wilberforce Eames, do not have this figure. There is no apparent reason for this difference and the three examples do not have anything else to distinguish them. A possible explanation may be that soon after the presswork on the title-form started, somebody suggested that the title would look better if there was something in the empty space between two rules above the imprint, and the centerpiece was thereupon inserted while the pressmen waited.

¶ Serious study of the peculiarities of the ELIOT INDIAN BIBLE began and largely ended with J. Hammond Trumbull of Hartford, Connecticut. He embodied the results of his researches in a Council Report to the American Anti-quarian Society for April 1874; reissued as *Origin and Progress of the Indian Missions in New England*, Worcester 1874. The annotated list of early publications appended to this publication has been drawn upon by subsequent compilers of bibliographical works, and Trumbull's notes have been accepted as satisfactory by most students who have contemplated reëntering the textual field of the Eliot Indian language.

PAPER AND SUPPLIES

There are few books of any period whose progress through the intricacies of bookmaking can be followed with as documental detail as can that of the *ELIOT INDIAN BIBLE*. Each step in the process of manufacture of the text as well as of the physical volume can be traced, mostly in a series of letters that tell of the inception of the idea, the arrangements that provided the money, the procurement of the mechanical equipment, the employment of a craftsman, the progress of typesetting, proof and presswork, the binding of the edition and of presentation copies of the finished volume. These letters contain instructions written in London telling what was to be done, and replies from New England reporting what had been accomplished, with financial reports of expenditures. Only a few of the original letters from Boston and a few drafts of the replies to these were preserved in the files of the London missionary society. Most of them disappeared at the time of the London fire of 1666. In America the letters were kept in the custody of the Massachusetts Commissioners until they perished in one of the fires that gutted the Boston Town House. Contemporary transcripts of both series, the letters from London and drafts of replies, were made for the other Commissioners and nearly all of these, from the files kept at Plymouth or Hartford, were printed in 1852 and 1857.

The type used in 1655 for the Indian *GENESIS* was the size of that of the *DECLARATION OF FORMER PASSAGES* of the Narragansetts ten years before, with two smaller sizes of italic. In that year the Corporation sent from London a shipment of more type of the same size at Eliot's request in order that his Indian work might be independent of other demands on the Press. This new type was presumably used for printing the *MATTHEW* in the autumn of 1655 and for the selection of *INDIAN PSALMS* in 1658. It was a useful size for ordinary book work and in 1662 Samuel Green accounted for it by explaining that it had been "mingled with the Colledges." In May 1659 the Corporation sent "a catalogue of the materials fit for printing with the charge for them" to New England, and in reply the Commissioners wrote in September that Mr. Usher "hath undertaken to furnish according to the printers direction." What happened next is not clear, but a new press with the necessary equipment reached the Indian College within the next year and was installed to be used for printing the translation of the Bible.

The worldly-wise members of the Corporation were under no misap-

prehensions as to what was likely to happen to the belongings of the New England Company which had been sent to the colony, and in response to their request the Commissioners in September 1662 called for:

An Account of the Vtinsills for printing belonging to the Corporation in the Custody of Samuel Green of Cambridge Printer and given in under his hand to the Commissioners.

The presse with what belongs to it with one timpan and two Frisketts.

Item: two tables of cases for letters with one odd case.

Item: the font of letters together with the Imperfections that came since.

Item: one brasse bed, one Imposing stone.

Item: 2 barrells of Inke, 3 chases, 2 Composing stickes one ley brush.

2 Candlestickes one for the Cases the other for the presse.

Item: the frame and box for the Cesteren.

Item: the Riglit brass and Scabbard, the sponge, 1 gally, 1 mallet.

1 sheeting sticke and furniture for the Chases.

Item: the letters that came before they were mingled with the Colledges.

With the above inventory of the Corporation property Green presented his own bill for what was due him on account of the Indian work. Except for a few items quoted elsewhere this reads:

To mending the windows of the printing house	1 : 0 : 5
To pack thrid and vellum	5 : 6
To 2 barrells of Inke & leather for balls	20 : 0 : 0
To hide for the presse being broken	1 : 0 : 0;
To Mr Johnson's Board	07 : 05 : 09

The press that broke down may have been the one belonging to the College, which dated back to the Glover-Dunster time, which gave out while being used for the Bible. The one sent over two years before this breakdown could have been second-hand but this is unlikely. Two years after this, in his bill for the year ending in September 1664, the press again called for more serious repairs:

To expenses about the Presse for mending it; making	
New Chases twenty seven skins for balls &c	04 : 04 : 04

The amount charged for Johnson's board in Green's 1662 bill shows that when the Londoner went back to work after a half-year's absence from the shop, he returned to his previous lodgings in the Green home. The arrangement continued until Johnson prepared to return to London in 1664, for Green's bill presented in September of the latter year has an entry: "To one years board of Mr Johnson. . . . 15:00:00."

The statements made by the Corporation, the Commissioners, and the printer regarding the amount of paper provided for the BIBLE do not agree with each other or with the book as it exists. This work consisted of 1,500 copies of the New Testament made up of 32 sheets, which would have required a minimum of 96 reams of paper; and 1,000 copies of the Old Testament of 115½ sheets, 231 reams. This total of 327 reams must be increased by an uncertain amount inevitably required for spoilage in make-ready on the press and mischances during the presswork, and for an overrun to guard against subsequent accidents in handling and for the binder's industrial hazards. The managers of present-day establishments report that they must ordinarily allow for a minimum margin of at least five percent. The allowance for the workmen engaged on the INDIAN BIBLE ought to have been liberal for they were using paper which was supplied by the patron of the work and the stock on hand was more than ample for any requirements.

The Commissioners wrote in September 1659 that "for paper and other materials we shall depend on Mr Usher." A year later there was an entry in the statement of payments made in Boston:

For two hundred reams of paper bought since our last accompt
 letters ink setting them in the press with materials to work as
 by bill appears 1201:01s:8d

The itemized bill has not been found, but at Usher's later price of six shillings a ream, the paper would not have accounted for more than half of this sum. A year before Usher had been paid £80:07:06 "for printing letters for the Bible." When the paper was paid for, the Bostonians must have known that the Corporation was sending from London 104 reams for the same purpose. The news of this shipment left London about April 28, 1660 so that word of it could hardly have reached Boston until after Usher had been told to secure the paper that would be needed, inasmuch as this arrived in time to be paid for in September. The possibility that Usher ordered his paper from the Continent is suggested by a statement in the letter of April 28 from the Corporation:

understanding by Mr Usher's agent that there is nothing wanting except paper we have sent an hundred and four reams of every sune the sheet that is now sent over to us.

On March 24 three members of the Corporation had been directed "to speak with Mr Harwood Assignee of Mr Hezekiah Usher & know wt orders or instrucons he hath recd from him to buy materyals for print-

ing &c." It was at this same meeting that Colonel Puckle reported his purchase of twenty reams at 3s:8d. per ream for the Eliot Indian tract of 1660 as related in the preceding chapter. On April 21 Colonel Puckle was asked to inquire into the purchase of "paper to be sent to N. Eng. for printing the Bible" and four days later he reported that John Cade could supply a hundred reams at 5s:8d. per ream. The amount that was wanted may have been more than was on hand in London of the desired quality, for although the Corporation wrote that they were sending it on April 28, it was not until July 27 that it was voted:

That Mr Trer be desired to pay Mr John Cade for 104 reams of fine pillar paper after the rate of 5s.8d. pr reame & for packinge &c. ye sume of 21li:14s:4d.

This allows five shillings for packing, etc. Many but not all of the sheets in copies of the *INDIAN BIBLE* that have been examined show a watermark of a central pillar supported by two shorter ones. The higher price paid for it indicates, as has been noted by writers who have described the *BIBLE*, a grade of paper superior to that found in ordinary English publications of this period. Puckle had been directed to buy a hundred reams and the four percent increase may have been the allowance usually supplied for spoilage. This shipment of 52,000 sheets would have provided just about the amount required for 1,500 copies of the New Testament with its minimum of 48,000 sheets. The actual overrun was apparently sufficient to make up a considerable number of extra copies of the complete *BIBLE*.

The missionary funds had thus been drawn on in September 1660 to pay for 304 reams of paper. About 20 of these would have been used for the first six sheets. It would have taken 80 more to finish the New Testament, which was completed in the following spring, and over 50 for the Pentateuch, which was done by September. Nearly half of the paper should then have been on hand, not enough to finish the *BIBLE* by something over a fifth, 30 or more reams. The New Englanders may have remembered, however, the warning given them by their London principals that if anything was lacking everything would have to stop, for at the September 1662 meeting of the Commissioners they approved a further purchase of 160 reams at six shillings a ream. A year after this, warned by the strict scrutiny that the Corporation was now giving to their accounts, the Commissioners ordered Green to furnish a statement of the disposition of all the paper he had received for the *BIBLE* work. Green

then stated that he had received 80 reams from England, which may bear out the suspicion that only part of the paper purchased by Colonel Puckle from Cade had been shipped when the order was placed, four months before the whole amount was paid for. The second shipment might not have reached its destination or may have been held up on its way to Cambridge. Green stated that he had received from Usher 389 reams. Of this total of 469 reams he had used 30 reams for two Catechisms and 368 reams for the BIBLE. This left him 71 reams in the Cambridge shop and there were 61 reams belonging to the Society in Usher's hands.

The BIBLE consisted of 32 sheets for the New Testament and 115 for the Old. Fifteen hundred copies of the New and a thousand of the Old would have contained 327 reams. If Green's workmen used 368 reams for this work, there was a margin of 41 reams, 2,500 sheets or over 12½ percent, for spoilage and overrun. It looks as if there may have been a considerable number of broken reams left in the stock room at the Indian College in Cambridge.

THE NEW TESTAMENT

The printed text of the Indian New Testament was completed at an inauspicious time, in the spring of 1661. Nobody on either side of the ocean could be sure what would happen next. On the floor of the Indian College, or somewhere in storage, were 32 piles of printed paper, 1,500 sheets in each, awaiting disposition. They needed to be gathered and folded and sewn together before the binder could put them into covers so that they could be distributed. Nothing was done with them so far as known for nearly six months. One possible reason is that maybe readers were not as clamorous for them as the sponsors had been led, or had led themselves, to expect. The Commissioners, meeting at New Haven in September 1660, had assured their English correspondents that "In Generall wee have been enformed that about one hundred of Mr Eliotts Indians can read in the Bible and many other about Plymouth, Martins Vinyards and other places."

A better reason for hesitating before entering upon additional outlays was the news that was coming from England. This made it seem uncertain whether any more money would come from what its officers were now referring to as "the late pretended corporation." The worst of it was, that while the colonial administrators were trying to make up their minds what to do, their London correspondents, who ought to have

known what was going to happen, showed not the slightest real anxiety. Their letters began with urgent exhortations urging the strictest economy, and ended with definite instructions not to let anything interfere with the prosecution of the Bible work. On May 18, 1661 the former officers of the former Corporation wrote:

We suppose you are not strangers to the condition of affairs; and perticularly with respect unto ourselves being now no Corporation; though not without good hopes that the same will be renewed and confirmed by His Majesty though possibly the business may be acted by other persons. However we desire that the printing of the Bible be not retarded.

King Charles II had entered London on May 10, 1660. On November 14 following "a petition of divers for Propagating the Gospel in America" was referred by Order in Council to the Attorney-General. His report, with a draft for renewing the charter, was read in Council on April 10, 1661. After full debate the Council voted to insert an all-important clause which enabled the Society to retain the lands and other properties which it had acquired during the interregnum. Other obstacles had still to be overcome, and the new Charter was not issued until the following February 7, 1661/2. During this interval of uncertainty, the Society's Record Book was not used, being presumably in hiding in safe hands. That it was not lost is shown by a scribbled memorandum evidently made at or after a meeting called to consider the regular General Letter to the Commissioners, just a month before the King's Council confirmed its right to its property. The members of the Corporation did not meet openly until after the renewed Charter had passed the seals, and they did not use the Record Book until all chance of royal reconsideration was safely over, in 1663. Throughout this period of apparent uncertainty, however, letters of instruction were written regularly, and there is no break in the series as copied into the minutes of the meetings of the New England Commissioners. These supply most of the details that are known regarding the Bible and the Press at this time.

When the Commissioners met at Plymouth on September 12, 1661, their communications show an assertiveness that had been absent from those of previous years. They were no longer acting simply as the agents of the wealthy and generous London source of benevolence, anxious to serve in the ways that would best meet the wishes of those for whose charity they felt deeply grateful. Now, the representatives of the United New England Colonies felt no confidence that the remittance of £800 a

year would continue. Deeper than this superficial and selfish motive was a reflection of a spirit of independence that had suddenly found expression throughout the settlements. The colonists were first of all English folk and they desired to remain loyal to their homeland. They were prepared to go along with whatever was acceptable to their friends and relatives in England, up to a certain point. Beyond that point, which they were not sure might be reached, they would not go. The people of the Bay sat tight and waited to see what would happen, but they kept their powder dry and inspected the works on Fort Hill. They had no way of knowing that Charles II knew when he was well off, and that there would be no showdown. His brother, a quarter-century later, was less discreet but took a hint and ran away. In the colony, Edmund Andros came much nearer to a regrettable end. But in 1661 the men who directed popular action were as certain of support as they were in 1685.

The Commissioners in September 1661 ordered an English title page to the Testament and a Dedicatory Epistle to the King to be printed, and copies with these to be sent to London for presentation. Their altered tone shows in the letter notifying the former officers of the former Corporation that this had been done, and specifying the individuals to whom the copies were to be given:

Your desire that the printing of the Bible may not be retarded wilbee attended according as wee shall see suitable. The New Testament is already finished and of all the Old the five books of Moses. We have herewith sent you 20 pieces of the New Testament which wee desire may be thus disposed viz: that two of the special being very well bound up the one may be presented to His Majesty in the first place the other to the Lord Chancellor; and that five more may be presented to Doctor Reynolds, Mr Caryl, Mr Baxter, and the Vice Chancellors of the Universities who we understand have greatly encouraged the work; the rest wee leave to be disposed as you shall see cause . . .

By the account you will find we have remaining 414lb: 4:4. stock a great part wherof will be expended in printing the Bible and a new impression of a Catechism.

The Boston treasurer's account that was enclosed with the above letter contains a charge: "To sundry disbursements upon the account of printing as appears by account now sent . . . 196:19:1."

The Commissioners meeting at Plymouth attended to their duty to the London benefactors who seemed not to realize how worried they ought to have been, and then took charge of the situation nearer home. They wrote to Hezekiah Usher, the Boston merchant who handled the

money of the missionary society and looked after its business during the fifty weeks between their meetings:

Your care in providing materials and furthering the printing of the Bible we thankfully accept, desiring the continuance of the same until it be issued; and the paying of Mr Green as formerly together with the salaries and other payments according to your order here enclosed . . .

And it is our desires that you will take care for the printing of the preface before the New Testament with the title according to the copies as also to send to Mr Ashurst and Mr Huchenson about twenty copies of the New Testament to be disposed of according to our direction and order to them . . .

We pray you to demand and receive of Mr Green the whole impression of the New Testament in Indian now finished; and take care for the binding of two hundred of them strongly and as speedily as may be with leather or as may be most serviceable for the Indians; and deliver them forth as you shall have order or direction from any of the Commissioners for the time being of which keep on exact account that so it may be seen how they are improved and disposed of.

Wee pray you take order for the printing of a thousand copyes of Mr Eliots Catechismes which wee understand are much wanting amongst the Indians; which being finished receive from the presse and dispose of them according to order abovesaid.

A year later Usher put in his bill "To printing 1500 Catechismes . . . 151." This was presented at the meeting at which Green submitted the statement of the disposition of the paper used for the Indian work, including "for printing two Catechisms . . . 30 reams." One of these must have been Eliot's, which was ordered in the letter quoted above and paid for by Usher. No copy of this has been found. If it took half of the paper, there would have been exactly enough for fifteen hundred copies requiring five sheets each, and five sheets at £3 each for printing would have cost £15, Usher's charge. The other known catechism that is nearest of an earlier date is Peirson's *SOME HELPS* printed by Green in 1658. This consists of 72 pages, 4½ sheets, so that fifteen reams would allow a good margin for spoilage if fifteen hundred were printed. The complication is that Green's statement was supposed to cover paper supplied after the Bible work was decided on in 1659.

Usher's statement of expenditures during the year that ended in September 1662 contains two more entries which show that he carried out the other instructions in the letter last quoted above:

To printing the Title sheet to the New Testament. . . . 1:00:00

To binding 200 Testaments at 6d. a peece. . . . 5:00:00

Forty copies of the NEW TESTAMENT were sent to London, in two equal shipments. There is no indication whether these were bound in New England or, as would have been more natural except for the desire to spend as much of the money as possible in the colony, were packed as unbound sheets. In 1890 Wilberforce Eames identified fourteen copies as having been bound as Testaments, but he did not distinguish between colonial and English bindings. In either case the copies sent to London would have contained the English title and dedication.

MAN PROPOSES

In September 1661 the New Testament was awaiting the finishing touches before being exhibited to its English patrons. The Five Books of Moses were out of the way, stowed safely in twenty-six piles of over a thousand sheets each, while the work on the Old Testament went forward according to schedule. A month later, turning off a sheet each week, the printers would have been engaged on the Book of Judges, where they could have found in Chapter xi of the King James version:

So Israel possessed all the land of the Amorites, the inhabitants of that country. And they possessed all the coasts of the Amorites . . .

And Jephthah came unto his house, and beholde, his daughter came out to meet him . . . and she was his only childe: beside her he had neither sonne nor daughter. And it came to passe when he saw her, that he rent his clothes, and said, Alas, my daughter, thou hast brought me very low, and thou art one of them that trouble me. . . .

And she said unto her father, Let this thing be done for me: Let me alone two moneths, that I may goe up and downe and bewaile my virginie . . .

In October 1661 the Grand Jury of Middlesex County in Massachusetts presented Marmaduke Johnson for "obtaining the affections" of the daughter of Ensign Green, otherwise the printer, "without his knowledge and consent, also being expressly forbidden her society, threatening the death of any other who should make suit to her." After this Johnson kept out of Father Green's way, but the young people managed to see each other. A statement signed by Elizabeth Green on October 21 is still in the court files, explaining that

He still continued to take all opportunities to get in to her company coming into ye yard in the evening time & divers times did send for her to Wm Bar-

ratts, where they were often together & throw his flattering & allureing expressions shee was greatly insnared by him, for the wch shee seeth now case to lament her own folly & to blesse the Lord that hath deliverd her from so great a snare.

This confession was supplemented on the 13th. 10mo. (December) 1661, when

Elizab. Greene further saith that ye above named Marmaduke Johnson sent to her to meet him at Wm Barratts house at a time when yr was none of sd family at Home, & yt at his instant request shee accordingly went, where they were together in the house alone sundry hours, & ye sd Johnson did much importune her to ingage her selfe to him by a sollem promise of mariage, & yt shee would accept no other, promising her to go immediately for England, & make it appear yt his wife was ye Woman so circumstanced as he had formerly said of her, & yt himselfe was ye inocent party. . . .

Deprived of opportunity to deal directly with the offender while waiting for the court to act, Ensign Green expressed his feelings in a letter to the young man's older and prosperous brother Thomas who enjoyed the good opinion of the best Puritan circles in the mercantile City of London. Thomas sent this back to Marmaduke, describing it as "an invective letter." The latter presumably hung around Cambridge for the rest of the winter and early spring, no doubt harbored by his friends the Barretts. He was on hand when his case came before the court on April 1, when it is recorded that:

Marmaduke Johnson appearing in Court, confessed a part of the said presentment, and denied the other part thereof, which by evidence on file with the records of this Court appeared to be true; the Court, on hearing the case, sentenced the said Johnson to pay as a fine for seeking to draw away the affections of the daughter of the said Samuel Green without his consent five pounds; and for his threatening speeches, to give security for the peace and his appearance at the next Court at Charlestown, in case he abide so long within the jurisdiction of this Colony: and for his presumptuous and wicked attempt of marriage, having by his own confession, a wife in England, that he return with the first opportunity that he may to his wife, on penalty of twenty pounds.

Promptly on April second a petition written by Johnson was presented to the court in which he

in all humility acknowledgeth his offences, whereby he hath justly deserved ye sentence & judgment of ye honored Court . . . for his enormities; Yet (may it please ye honred Court) in consideration of yor petrs present sad &

wanting condition, having been a long time absent from his employmt, & that he is friendless & a stranger, & neither capable at this time to give security or make payment of such a summe, untill such time as ye same shall be by him earned in his calling, which he hopes speedily to be settled in; doth therefore humbly pray, That his own bond may be taken for paymt thereof by ye next County Court, & that he may be released from his imprisonment, & have freedom to prosecute his Lawfull occasions to attain the ends aforesaid, which otherwise will in all probability prove his utter & unavoidable ruine & undoing.

The bench was unforgiving, for this petition carries an endorsement of the same date granting Johnson permission "to depart thence by ye first opportunity unto his wife, & untill such departure, to continue in prison untill his fine be sattisfied, & security given for his good behavior." Then something must have happened, for there is the best of evidence that within a very short time the friendless prisoner whose plea for clemency had been denied was back at work on the INDIAN BIBLE and lodging with the man who had caused his troubles. It looks as if somebody had pointed out to the vengeful father that the pound a sheet which his workmen got for doing the recreant's work was more than offset by the loss of payment for boarding him, while the implacable jurists were led to consider the possible effects of sending to London the craftsman whose presence was directly connected with the addition of nearly a thousand pounds a year to the commercial credit of the community.

On April 2 the court ordered that Johnson be held in prison. Twenty-three weeks later, on September 10, the Commissioners passed for payment two bills, one of which included the year's work on the BIBLE:

To printing 21 sheets of the old Testament, att 3 lb. 10s per sheet

Mr Johnson being absent

73l. 10s.

To printing .25 sheets with his healp att 50. shill: per sheet

62l. 10s.

The printers had failed by six sheets to maintain their rate of a sheet a week for the year. Presumably the work slowed up while Johnson was away, but it does not follow that it speeded up after his return in April, although this is possible inasmuch as it went much faster during the ensuing months. There had been no recorded signs of approaching trouble when the Commissioners met in September 1661, and some of the twenty-five sheets on which Johnson helped would have been done before Green ordered him out of the house. Green's charge for boarding Johnson which was paid in September 1662, as quoted above, amounting to one-half his charge for a full year, would likewise have included

the interval before relations were broken. The Commissioners gave their version of what had occurred in their letter of September 10, 1662:

The Bible is now about half done; and constant progresse therin is made: the other halfe is like to bee finished in a yeare; the future charge is uncertaine, by estimate not lesse then 200lb: . . .

Wee onely crave leave att present for the preventing of an objection that may arise concerning the particulars charged for the printing wherein you will find 21 sheets at three pounds ten shillings a sheet and the rest but att 50 shillings a sheet. The Reason wherof lyes heer: It pleased the honored Corporation to send over one Marmaduke Johnson a printer to attend the worke on Condition as they will enforme you: whoe hath caryed heer very unworthly of which hee hath bine openly Convicted and sencured in some of our Courts although as yett noe execution of sentence against him; peculiar favor haveing bine showed him with respect to the Corporation that sent him over: but notwithstanding all patience and lenitie used towards him hee hath proved very idle and nought and absented himselfe from the worke more than halfe a yeare att one time; for want of whose assistance the printer by his agreement with us was to have the allowance of 21 lb. the which is to be defallcated out of his sallary in England . . .

PRIVATE MORALS

The active members of the London missionary society who carefully described themselves as a "late pretended corporation" learned that their salaried printer overseas was in trouble on March 10, 1661/2. This news had left Boston, whether by letter or by word of mouth is not certain, at a time when Johnson had been absent from his work nine weeks, which would have been some time in December. On March 10 the record book of the New England Company, which had not been used since December 1660, was brought out of hiding and used for the only time between that date and April 1663. The following "Memorandums" were jotted down for guidance in writing a letter to the Commissioners, a copy of which is dated from London on May 15, 1662:

That it bee menconed in the Generall lre to ye C: for ye united Coloneyes of N. E. that they bee Desired to examine the matter of fault concerning Marmaduk Johnsons absentinge himselfe 9 weekes from the presse, & that they bee desired to provide accomodacons for him Duringe the Terme of yeares menconed in the enclosed Articles, & to certify whether hee hath performed the Condicons menconed in the sd Articles

That ye Bill of Exchange of 10li bee allowed & pd accordingly wch Mr Marmaduke Johnson hath drawn upon Mr Thomson

When the Commissioners replied to this letter on September 10, as quoted at the end of the previous section, they showed no more interest than the London merchants in the cause of the printer's delinquency. Their reply was considered at a meeting in London on December 5, 1662, of which the only record is in the report of a committee then appointed to examine the accounts submitted from New England. This committee reported on April 9, 1663, that it found "moneyes layed out for bookes & gratuities to severall persons wch (in regard of the smallnes of the Revenue) they conceive might be forborne." This April meeting was an important one, attended by twelve members who would have had other things to talk about, for Pepys at the Navy Office on the day before had commented on the honors paid by the Universities to Charles II's firstborn and now acknowledged son by Lucy Walters, created Duke of Monmouth, "all which, they say, the king took very well." There is a curious bit of evidence that the mind of the recorder at the missionary meeting was wandering, for one of his entries reads:

Ordered, that the summe of xxli bee pd unto John Johnson Assignee of Marmaduke Johnson, Printer, towards his Salary for printing the Bible in the Indian language in New England

It so happened that converging circumstances resulted in the preservation of another written account of other things that took place at the meeting on April 9, and that this proves that Marmaduke's salary was paid to his brother Thomas. Marmaduke had written to his brother of his hopes of marrying Elizabeth Green not long before the break in his relations with her family but after the knowledge of his previous marriage became public in New England. He asked Thomas to arrange for a divorce as a necessary preliminary to a new marriage. Thomas probably replied during the winter of 1661, that a divorce could not be obtained without the personal appearance of Marmaduke in the English court. The latter's reiterated appeals to his brother remained unanswered until February 27, 1662/3, when Thomas began a letter:

Loving Brother,—I find by your many letters, that you much blame me in my remissness of not writing unto you, which I must confess in some part I am guilty of; but I was so much troubled about that lewd woman, once your wife, that I did vow not to write until I heard better news of you; and this my resolution was backed with an invective letter from Mr Green which I herewith send you; I had thought that Mary Cook's depositions, Mr. Tracey's testimony, and my verbal expressions to Mr Bradstreet had been sufficient to satisfy that scruple but I perceive by your letters it is not. . .

The letter went on to tell about the relations of the former wife and "one Jeoffries who kept her company continually though he had a wife and children of his own . . . a silk-stocking weaver by trade going by the name of Stockwell." Thomas left off writing in February, after explaining his efforts to arrange for the divorce which all concerned wanted. A different solution was reached by Jeoffries after he "was much troubled by his wife for keeping her company, so that he sent her (by what wile I know not) to Barbadoes; and she died on the way." It was probably at this juncture that Thomas laid the letter aside to consider what might happen next. He took it up again after waiting upon the members of the New England Company at their meeting on April 9, 1663. The next day he wrote:

In my former letter I confess I did intimate my dislike of too forward proceedings in that business of Mr. Green's daughter (because of your wife) a person perhaps that I shall never have the happiness to see; but your high character of her, hath made me render you (as to myself) less blamable in desiring so worthy a maid: . . . if I were certain of your mutual friendship again, I should present her with a token worthy of acceptance. Your wife being dead, and you free, perhaps there may be an agreement with Mr. Green and you settle there to your heart's content.

Since my former writing I have gained a result from the Corporation and they are willing that you should continue there a year longer, and according as they hear of your civil carriage you may be settled there. They gave me order to invite you to be more circumspect in your ways, and to regain your credit, and they will do what lies in them for your good: this the Honorable Mr. Boyle, Governor, Sir Lawrence Bromfield and Mr. Ashurst with several others told me. Therefore brother, pray you be careful, and let there be no enmity between Mr. Green and you, for they take any misdemeanor against him as done to themselves. Mr. Eliot's letter prevailed much on your behalf and Mr. Boyle wished me to write you to return Mr. Eliot humble thanks for his love, and for you to make good that character which he gave of you.

As a result of the brother's representations the members of the Corporation agreed to grant John Eliot's request that they continue Marmaduke's salary for another year, beyond the term of his contract, although the Bible was almost completed except for the metrical Psalms which were also authorized at this meeting. Thomas was informed that it had already been decided not to pay the printer for the half year during which he had been away from the Bible work, on account of which £21, New England money, had already been paid to Green out of their funds. This explanation was in reply to a request by Thomas for the payment of a bill

of exchange for £10 on his salary account drawn by Marmaduke and presented by Thomas at an earlier date. The latter then withdrew from the meeting and on his way back to his shop on Rood Lane he notified the merchant through whom the bill reached him, that he would not accept it.

After Thomas left them the members of the Corporation completed their business of the day by reversing their decision not to pay Marmaduke, and the only entry on the subject made by the clerk is the order to pay £10 to "John" Johnson quoted above. Thomas knew nothing of this, however, when he returned to the writing of the letter begun on February 27, explaining that "You must not take it amiss that I did not accept your bill of exchange of ten pounds for I was not certain that they would pay me any money . . . I am fearful that the ships will be gone, and therefore I conclude with my prayers to God for you, and rest your loving Brother." The letter was then dated, signed and sealed, but the fear must have been justified, for it was reopened for a supplement dated April 23, 1663:

After I had sealed up my letter I had notice from Mr. Ashurst that the Corporation would continue your salary to be paid here; therefore for the ten pounds, if you can take it up there to save your credit, it shall be paid here upon sight. Brother you know the reason why I did not accept the bill. I wonder how you can have occasion for so much money being your diet and lodging is (or at least was) to be provided for you. I must again reiterate the desires of the Corporation in general that you would become a new man, and demean yourself civilly, without any difference with Green, and they have promised you what preferment lies in their power. Pray then not to gain the £20 of Green, for that will make the friction bigger than ever. Apply yourself to Mr. Eliot and the Commissioners there, and you may do well enough.

Mr. Thompson told me he was confident there would be employment enough for you, and that forthwith they intended to print the New England Psalms. I should think now by a friendly compliance with Green, you might (giving him some allowance) gain the government of the printing-house into your own hands, for I hear he is anxious, and hath a good place in another way. Brother know this, by force you can never do it, but rather may by policy: You understand yourself very well: I would you had been but a good husband in this time, you might have had materials of your own by this time. Mr. Grover vowed to have trusted 30 or £40 with you. Remember the motto *nunquam sera est* . . . Brother pray excuse my nonsense, for I am at this time so full of pain with the gout that I can hardly hold my pen with patience. For Holland I have sent you none, having nobody to do it for me. Here is the Young Clerks

Guide, with the Banquet of Jests. Pray become a new man, and without all question you may do very well there, once more committing you to the protection of the Almighty, with my prayer for you, I rest

Your loving Brother

THOMAS JOHNSON

Several members of the Thompson family were in the book business in London about this time, but Samuel was the one most likely to have been consulted by Thomas Johnson in regard to his brother's prospects. It could have been the more famous George Thomason, whose habit of ranging from shop to shop must have made him a clearing house of trade gossip. The reference to the possibility of an American reissue of the *New England Psalms* might refer to one of the many editions that have disappeared.

☞ Thomas Johnson's long letter was dated from London from February 27 to April 23, 1663, so that it could not have reached Marmaduke until fourteen months after he was ordered to be held in prison until he could return to his wife, whereupon he went back to work. The letter came to light in the files of the Middlesex, Massachusetts, County Court in Cambridge, which suggests the possibility that when Marmaduke got out of jail his case was held open until after he presented his brother's letter as evidence that everything had turned out all right.

☞ The letter was printed from an official copy, with excisions of interesting passages and perhaps modernized spelling, in G. E. Littlefield's *Early Massachusetts Press*, Boston, The Club of Odd Volumes, 1907. It was not found in the court files after they had been arranged by the Works Progress Administration in 1942.

☞ The record of the payment to "John" Johnson and the earlier memorandum of Marmaduke's bill "drawen upon Mr. Thomson" were clerical lapses that were not detected by the editor of these records when they were printed by the Prince Society as *The New England Company and John Eliot*, Boston 1920.

FINISHING THE WORK

The work of printing the Bible in Indian went forward according to schedule regardless of what happened at Court or cottage. On May 14, 1663 Marmaduke Johnson was reminded that it was the third anniversary of his departure from Gravesend by a notification that his time was up and that his services would no longer be required, "the Bible being finished." On that day a vessel must have been well on its way

across the Atlantic bringing a letter from Governor Boyle dated April 9 and stating that:

We hope the Bible will be finished by the return of the ships and then and not before we desire to receive some from you. . . .

Concerning Marmaduke Johnson [as quoted above] we have thought fit further to make trial of him for one year longer . . . we have thought fit and ordered that the Psalms of David in meeter shalbe printed in the Indian language. . . .

When this letter reached Boston Johnson automatically went back to his place in the Cambridge shop. He may have gone to work on the metrical Psalter which John Eliot had already prepared to be placed at the end of the Bible. The Commissioners gave their version of what had happened in a letter approved and dated September 18, 1663:

Some time after our last letter Marmaduke Johnson returned to the press and hath carried himself indifferently well since so far as we know but the Bible being finished and little other work presenting we dismissed him at the end of the term you had contracted with him for; but understanding your honorable Corporation hath agreed with him for another year; we shall indeavor to employ him as we can by printing the psalms and another little treatise of Mr Baxters which Mr Eliot is translating into the Indian language which is thought may be usefull and profitable to the Indians. . . .

We have ordered Mr Usher to present your honors by the next ship with 20 copies of the Bible and as many of the Psalms if printed before the ships departure from hence.

The last paragraph above suggests that the printed Psalter was nearly finished, but reasons for thinking that the work may have been delayed will be considered in the next chapter. A metrical version of the Psalms had been a standard complement to the English Bible, regularly bound at the end of the volume. The Indian version fills 98 pages, requiring one leaf over twelve sheets. The printers calculated correctly before starting their work, for they began printing on the third page of the first sheet, leaving a blank leaf between the Book of Revelation and the Psalter. There would then have been two blank leaves at the end, but one of these was filled with two pages of "Rules for Christian Living" composed by Eliot in Indian.

The thirteen sheets of the Psalter, signatures A to N, were supplemented by one more sheet containing an English title to the whole Bible

and two leaves of Dedication to the King. The Commissioners resolved upon this at their September meeting when:

Mr Simon Bradstreet and Mr Danforth are requested to take care for the preparation of an epistle to the Indian Bible dedicatory to his Majestie and cause the same to be printed.

The fourteen sheets which completed the work of printing the Bible could have been done in as many weeks, and there was time enough for this either before or after the September meeting. The finished work was in London on February 26, 1663/4 when the Corporation:

Ordered, That the 20 Bibles conteyninge the old and New Testament sent from N. E. to this Corporacon bee bound & presented unto such persons as the Gouvernour of this Corporacon shall thinke fitt.

There were over a thousand copies of the book waiting to be disposed of, as well as at least two hundred unbound copies of the Testament, but there was clearly no disposition to regard these as curiosities which might be used to quicken the interest of friends of the cause. The Corporation under the restored Charter consisted of forty-five members, although twelve was a large attendance at a meeting. It was well understood that most of them were honorary nominees for whom a place had been provided because they were in the royal entourage and would guard against danger from an Independent majority. While waiting for the book to be bound it was voted on March 7, doubtless in response to a letter received from Eliot by a later vessel:

That 5 of the Bibles sent from N. England to this Corporacon bee disposed accordinge to Mr Eliotes request, vizt. one to Jesus Coll. in Cambridge, one to Lady Arnim, another to Sion Colledge, and 2 more to each university & yt the bookes given to ye universityes bee given in the Name of the Corpor:

The presentation copies with their English titles and dedication leaves were bound by Samuel Gellibrand in dark blue morocco at a cost of £10. He delivered one copy by April 21, 1664, for under that date Governor Boyle wrote to Eliot:

I waited this day upon the King with your translation of the Bible which, I hope I need not tell you, he received according to his custom very gratusly. But though he looked a pretty while upon it, & showed some things in it to those who had the honor to be about him in his bed-chamber, into which he carryed it, yet the unexpected coming in of an Extraordinary Envoyé from

the Emperour hindred me from receiving that fuller expression of his grace toward the translators and Dedicators that might otherwise have been expected.

Six weeks before this, at the meeting at which a letter from Eliot was acted on, the Corporation reacted to the increasing assurance of their New England agents by assuming on their own part a somewhat more peremptory tone which shows in a request:

Wee desire by your next to inform us how many Bibles have been printed in the Indian language it being that which might be of public repute unto the work.

The Commissioners replied in September:

The number of Bibles with Psalm books printed were upwards of a thousand; of Baxter's Call 1000 and of Psalters 500 divers wherof all sorts are disposed to the Indians and the rest ready for their use as they can be bound up and there may be occasion.

The meeting of 1664 was held at Hartford and the Massachusetts Commissioners carried with them Usher's financial report for the year:

Boston: 26:Aug:1664

Honrd Sr, Service premised

I am bould to trouble you with the inclosed accotts desiring in the most conuenient Season to present them with my service to the Honrd Commissioners, having relation only to what hath bine disburst by me, excepting some Salleryes that are in part & wholly payed which I bring not to the accott inclosed being asurd perticuler order will in season be given forth for the discounting of the same, one Ballance of acco made up the 18th.7.63 wth ye Honrd Commissioners, was resting due £504/13/4d wch was to be payed after the raite of 25 per Ct advanc; And att the sam time I received a bill of Ex for £400 wch Bill was accepted by the Honrd Corporation, wch I have given the Acco Cr for it with allowance of 12 £ per Ct according to agremt, of wch I am to make paymt according to useall saile of goods for Cash. Itt is my desire that when the £504/13/4d is payed of, I may know to whome I may pay according to the last agremt that I may not give offence when I act according to order.

I have here with sent acco, of wtt Bibles were printed & how disposed desiring yor full order, for the disposeall of them that ar resting, you will find one the accott wtt I sent to Engld & wtt I have bd upp & delivered to Mr Elliat order, whether it be yor pleasure, his order for the disposing of them, be by me attended, one the accott you will finde 42 Bibles bound, for wch the binder was allowed 2/6d per Bible wch he complaines of & professeth he cannot live one it, but desireth 3/- per bible to be allowed wch I leave to yor Honrs to approve. I have still resting in my hand of the printing papr 51

Rs wch is all times redy for yor service; not mindeing any thing further of concernmt to trouble The Honrd Comms: wth leaveing yor high concernmts to the lords guidance I tak leave & rest

FOR SERV^t HEZEKIAH
USHER

For his Honrd Frend Mr Thomas Damforth
to be communicated to the Hord Commisrs when mett

In Boston the 27 August: Anno 1664

The Honorable Commishoners: are Dr To Me Hezekiah Usher Senior for ye
Severall disbursments as foloweth—vizt:

To paymt to Mr Chancy after ye Accott in the year 63 was given in	5	—	—
To payment to Mr Day for mending the presse	11	10	
To 2 Chests for Bibles sent to England	5	—	
To paymt To Mr Shearman per Mr Danforths ordr	4	10	—
To 2 New Chases	2	5	—
To 2 Dossen of Skines for Balls	1	4	—
To printing ye Epistle Dedicatory	1	—	—
To printing ye Indian psalmes 13 Shets 2£ per Sheet	26	—	—
To printing Mr Baxters Call qto 8 Shets 50s per Shet	20	—	—
To printing 9 Sheets of ye Psalter 20s per Shett	9	—	—
To paymt of Capt Gookines Bill for Woole	2	13	4
To yeares Board of Mr Johnson ye printr 1664	15	—	—
To pack Threed and Dryfatts to pack ye Ind Bibles in	1	5	—
To parchmt to Mr Grene	3	6	
To paymt of Boat hyer for carying & recarying prayer & Bibles	1	6	—
To Sundry Books as per Accott	55	—	
To Binding and Clasping of 42 Bibles at 2s 6d per bible	27	19	2
	123	07	10

The thirteen-sheet PSALMS is the metrical version that appears at the end of all complete copies of the Indian Bible. The charge of two pounds a sheet covers the amount paid Green for his part of the work for a run of something over a thousand copies. The total cost should have included about a quarter of Johnson's salary of forty pounds a year with a proportionate share of what was paid for his board and lodging.

The entry above is the only mention of the publication of a separate nine-sheet PSALTER except the statement in the letter that there were 500 copies. No copy of it is known. The size and the cost combine to show that it was undoubtedly a separate printing of the text of the Book of Psalms as printed in the body of the Bible. There the Psalms begin on the last half page of sheet Rrr, fill the rest of that set of signatures to Zzz, and

end at the foot of the reverse of the first leaf of Cccc, eight full sheets and a little over one more leaf, or 67 pages. If two pages were added for a title leaf, the type that had been used for the thousand-odd impressions of the Bible could have been rearranged to go on the 72 pages of nine sheets, of which three, one and a half leaves, would have been blank. A simpler but less workmanlike alternative would have been to insert a heading in the upper half of the first page and thus avoid rearranging the type, using the forms as made up for the Bible to run off 500 additional impressions to be bound separately. There would then be two and a half blank leaves, with the heading and text beginning on a left-hand page, an arrangement which might not have impressed the native converts as peculiar.

The Old Testament ends with a half-sheet marked Mmmmm. The printers could have worked this "work and turn," putting the type for both sides of the sheet on the press at the same time, so that only half the number of pulls were required, 1,000 for the two sides of half that number of full sheets which, when cut in two, gave the necessary number of half-sheets for the full edition of a thousand.

Doubtless the craftsmen celebrated the end of their forty-odd months' task in customary Puritanical fashion with libations of New England rum toward the end of the Old Style year 1663. There was, however, little letup for relaxation from their daily twelve working hours. The rising tide of controversy stirred up by the Half-Way Covenant had already begun to flood the printing shop in the College Yard, and John Eliot had his translation of Baxter's *CALL TO THE UNCONVERTED* ready for them by the next midwinter.

In London the Corporation held its first acknowledged meeting after two years of uncertainty on December 5, 1662, and for another twelve-month the members found time for little business not connected with the protection of their landed properties. The loyalist Colonel Beddingfield had moved back on to the property which he had sold to the Society, confident that the restored King would restore his faithful follower to the ancestral estates. The tenants shared this belief and rallied to their old landlord with their rent money. The Corporation was left with empty coffers while their other tenants in the city as well as country waited hopefully to attend the obsequies of the "late" New England Company. What all of these failed to realize was that young Charles Stuart had had his fill of an empty purse and now had no desire to alienate those from whom his future income must chiefly come. The law

courts moved cautiously until they were sure of what was expected of them, but in the end they confirmed the title of the Company to its legally purchased lands. On February 26, 1663/4 the Corporation bonded its Clerk after authorizing him to receive its rents and arrears, and appointed its three principal members to hold the three keys to the iron chest in which its accumulated funds were to be deposited.

As further evidence of returning confidence in the immediate future twenty Indian Bibles were ordered to be "bound and presented unto such persons as the Governor shall think fit." The members were still feeling poor on May 17, 1664, however, when the Clerk had trouble putting down an accurate record of a matter under discussion. His entry in the record book reads:

Ordered, that in pursuance of a former Order of this Corporacon of ye 7 March 1663(4) whereby it is referd to the Comttee therein nominated, to consider & report wt allowance is thought fitt to bee made unto such persons as have taken Extraordinary Paines for & on the behalfe of this Corpo. which the sd Comttee havinge reported, This Corporacon Doe proceed as followeth vizt.

That it is thought fitt by this Corpor that ye summe of [100, *cancelled*] 50 li. bee pd unto Mr John Eliot of N.E. for his extraord paines in translating the bible into the Indian language [100li to be paid this yeare & 50li more the next yeare upon the finishinge the bookes that are now printinge in the Indian language in N.E., *cancelled*] And that a lre bee sent unto him intimatinge that this Corpor: shall consider [for the future, *cancelled*] of a further reward for him hereafter.

This discussion of May 17 was a continuation of what had been under consideration when a letter to the Commissioners was read and ordered signed on March 7. This letter was copied into the records of the Commissioners' September meeting. It has the March date but it might have been copied from a copy made in May, when the Corporation ordered that all letters should "be sent by the ships that go from hence to New England as often as opportunity presents." The above discussion is reflected in a paragraph in the March letter:

Wee cannot but take notice of Mr Eliots great paines and labour amongst the poor Indians and the good effect that hath followed thereupon; and also his care in translating the bible into the Indian language and attending upon the correcting of the press whiles the said Bible was printing; and now his translating a treatise of Mr Baxters into the said language; which althoe at present

wee cannot gratefully acknowledge: yet when enabled therunto shall endeavor to make proportionable Requittall.

The phrasing of this paragraph from the letter, as well as that of the record of the meeting ten weeks later, raises a suspicion that in both cases the discussion followed the reading of letters written by Eliot setting forth his inadequately requited services, addressed perhaps to a member of the Corporation, or some relative of a member, rather than to the Corporation itself.

In Boston the Commissioners had forty-two copies bound with clasps at a cost of two shillings six pence each for the small quarto volume of 136 sheets or 640 leaves. These did not contain the English title and dedication, but they would have been incomplete without the metrical psalms. These American bound copies sufficed, if the records are complete, for the requirements of the missionaries for more than two years. The payment for the binding was approved in September 1664, at the same time that the Commissioners received the following letter from the dissatisfied binder:

For the Honored the Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England met at Hartford, These Present

May it please your worships; The Providence of God so ordering it, that I could not be so happy as to be here at your last meeting at Boston, there to address myself unto your worships about the binding of the Indian Bibles; the only encouraging work which upon good intelligence caused me to transport myself and family into New England, and which I desire to promote by my art and in my lawful calling as a thing tending so much to the honor of God by the advancement of religion wherin your honored selves do claim a worthy remembrance, as chief instruments and propagators of it, and finding that your worships had referred the care of binding and price to Mr Usher, I have by his appointment and order made some progress therein, yet not finding him very willing without your worships consent, to come up to a suitable price, (he professing himself to be but your worships steward) in that behalf, have inforced me to appeal from him unto yourselves in this matter and humbly to acquaint you that under 3s.4d or 3s.6d per book I cannot bind them to live comfortably upon it, one Bible being as much as I can compleat in one day, and out of it find thread, glue, pasteboard, and leather clasp, and all which I cannot supply myself for one shilling in this country. I question not but that the printers if they please are able to inform your Worships of the reasonableness of my appeal in this case, though I blame not Mr Usher in the least, and I find by experience that in things belonging to my trade, I here pay 18s. for that which in England I could buy for four shillings, they being things not formerly

much used in this country. Were I before your Worships I could further amplify my demand by reason to be just and lawfull; so likewise I doubt not but that others can that may appear before you; but relying upon your Worships wisdom and that upon consideration you will judge the Artificer worthy of his wages, I shall not further trouble you, but expecting your favorable concession thereto for the better carrying on the work, and for my encouragement therein, praying for your Worships Prosperity subscribe myself, your Worships humble servant

Boston, Aug. 30, 1664.

John Ratlife

This petition did not produce the desired result. That the price may not have been as unfair as Ratcliffe claimed is suggested by the entry in the Commissioners' accounts passed on September 13, 1667; "To two hundred Indian Bibles bound and clasped, 2s.6d. . . . 251."

Four of the presentation copies of the Bible bound in London in blue morocco were located by Wilberforce Eames in 1890 while another was similarly bound until about 1870 when it was encased in olive levant grosgrained morocco. One of them has the name of William Ashurst at the top of the first leaf. These copies have the English title to the whole Bible and the Dedication, but not the English New Testament title. The only copy having both of the English titles is in the Pierpont Morgan Library. It may owe this distinction to the fact that it was given by Eliot three years after the work was completed to the son of his faithful supporter in earlier days, Thomas Shepard of Charlestown. It is inscribed "Thomas Shepard's Book. 2.6°. 1666. Ye gift of ye Revd. Translator."

Usher's letter of August 1664 with the accompanying statement was printed in the *Transactions* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts for December 1898. Beyond the fact that it was produced by a collector notable for his success in finding ancient documents in unsuspected places, there is no clue to how it chanced to be preserved, which is unfortunate because this is the only original document that has come to light from the files of the New England Commissioners. All the others that are quoted are taken from copies made by unreliable clerks.

CROSS PURPOSES

Marmaduke Johnson was notified that his services would no longer be required after May 14, 1663. He undoubtedly knew better, because he must have known like everybody else who had to do with the missionary work that John Eliot had mastered the art of getting everything he wanted out of London. Eliot had set his mind on continuing his self-imposed task of producing printed matter which he believed would

multiply the number of native converts to Protestantism. A letter from him asking that his metrical version of the Psalms be added to the Bible, and that Johnson be employed for another year, reached the Corporation in April 1663. These requests were granted forthwith although this postponed for nearly a twelvemonth the saving of heathen souls by the dissemination of Holy Writ.

At the same April meeting it was voted that "in regard of the smallness of the revenue" the Commissioners be instructed to refrain from all avoidable outlay. Until the letter telling of these votes reached Boston, Johnson would have been at liberty to use his own time as he liked. He had been boarding in Samuel Green's house and he had already made some arrangement looking ahead to the time when he would be free from the contract labor which had brought him to America, for the ALMANACK for the coming year 1663 had already appeared with the imprint "Printed by S. Green and M. Johnson." When the news of his reëmployment arrived, Johnson went back to the status of a salaried workman employed for the Indian work. To judge from the records of the Commissioners, whose information was necessarily belated as well as in other respects sometimes unreliable, nothing was done about completing the Bible until they met in September. In the interval Johnson could have helped with two contributions to the current controversy sponsored from New Haven by John Davenport, both of which were "Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. 1663." Presumably these were the printing jobs that the two Cambridge licensers, both of whom belonged to the opposite party, had refused to allow to be printed during the preceding months.

Green's name appears alone on two publications dated 1663, one of which ought to have appeared early in the year. This was John Higginson's election sermon delivered in May with a timely intent and the other was the elder Thomas Shepard's contribution to the discussion of the CHURCH MEMBERSHIP OF CHILDREN. Green retained a firm hold on the business of the General Court, which he had served as its door-keeper, and this as well as his active membership in the Cambridge church might account for his securing these two jobs for himself. Johnson should have been occupied with the metrical Psalms after the Commissioners met in September, if not before.

The uncertainty regarding the working arrangements at Cambridge was shared by the members of the Corporation (or their clerk) for at their meeting on March 7, 1663/4 they:

Ordered, That Mr Trer examine Johnson's Acco't & if it appears yt the summe of 9li bee not due unto him upon his former Contract that then the summe of 20li bee pd by Mr Trer upon acco't of his private Employ'm't in N. E.

The meaning of this is not clear, perhaps because it may have been a composite of two motions differently expressed. The reference to "9" may be a recollection of the first news that reached the members of Johnson's absenting himself; the "20" would refer to the half-year of which the nine weeks were a part; his private employment began when he dropped the virtually completed Bible work to help with the 1663 almanac and it included some of the time between May 14 and the following September. Some light on the confused discussion at the meeting in London may be hidden in the next paragraph in the clerk's record, which was successfully blotted out so that its contents are undecipherable except for a few words which show that the matter under discussion was a clarification of the practice to be followed in the future in paying the overseas salary.

In September 1663 the Commissioners, finding themselves with Johnson's time to be paid for, wrote the Corporation that:

the Bible being finished . . . wee shall indeavour to employ him as wee can by printing the Psalms and another little treatise of Mr Baxter's which Mr Eliot is translating . . .

The Apostle's reasons for selecting one of Richard Baxter's treatises for his next essay in translating is made clear in a letter that he wrote to the author two months earlier, the 6th of the 5th (July) 1663. It was a fitting recognition of deep obligation, for there is ample evidence that it was Baxter's active exertions which saved the charter of the New England Company from fatal changes if not complete cancellation when it came up for renewal after the Restoration. It was Baxter also who interested Robert Boyle in the idea of printing the Bible in the Indian tongue and led him to accept the chairmanship of, and become the largest contributor to, the reorganized missionary society. Eliot wrote to Baxter in July 1663:

My Work about the Indian Bible being (by the good hand of the Lord, though not without difficulties) finished, I am meditating what to do next for these Sons of this our Morning; they having no Books for their private use, of ministerial composing.

I have therefore purposed in my heart (seeing the Lord is yet pleased to

prolong my life) to translate for them a little Book of yours, intituled (A Call to the Unconverted): the keenness of the edge, and liveliness of the Spirit of that Book, through the Blessing of God, may be of great use unto them. But seeing you are yet in the Land of the Living (and the good Lord prolong your days) I would not presume to do such a thing, without making mention thereof unto your self, that so I might have the help and blessing of your Counsel and Prayers. I believe it will not be unacceptable to you, that the Call of Christ by your Holy Labours, shall be made to speak in their Ears, in their own language, that you may preach unto our poor Indians.

I have begun the Work already, and find a great difference in the Work already from my former translation; I am forced sometime to alter the Phrase, for the facilitating and fitting it to our Language, in which I am not so strict as I was in the Scripture. Some things which were fitting for English People, are not fit for them, and in such cases, I make bold to fit it for them. But I do little that way, knowing how much beneath Wisdom it is, to shew a Man's self witty, in mending another Man's Work

Baxter replied from Acton near London on November 30, 1663:

We very much rejoice in your happy work (the Translation of the Bible) and bless God who hath strengthened you to finish it. If anything of mine may be honored to contribute in the least measure to your blessed Work, I shall have great cause to be thankful to God, and wholly submit the Alteration and use of it to your Wisdom. Methinks the Assemblies Catechism should be next the holy Scriptures most worthy of your labours.

Baxter preserved an account of the conferences among those in England who were interested in the undertaking explaining that Eliot "sent word, that next he would print my *Call to the Unconverted*, and then the *Practice of Piety*, but Mr. Boyle sent him word it would be better taken here, if the *Practice of Piety* were printed before anything of mine . . . because of the envy and distaste of the times against me, (but) he had finished it before that advice came to him."

"Finitur, 1663, December 31" appears at the end of the Indian CALL, a date earlier than Baxter's letter of the last day of the preceding month could have reached the translator. The members of the Corporation continued to worry about possible complications and at their meeting on March 7, 1663/4 it was voted "That Mr Ashurst bee desired to write to Mr Eliot, desiring him that the Practice of Piety bee first translated & printed into the Indian language." These admonitions reached the Roxbury parsonage too late to be heeded, for on the 25th of the 6th (August) 1664 Eliot addressed the Commissioners, who were about to meet at

Hartford, "Touching the Press, I thank God & yourselves for the good success of the work in it. Mr. Baxter's Call is printed & dispersed."

A single copy, now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, is known of the CALL TO THE UNCONVERTED in Indian. At their September meeting the Commissioners approved the payment:

To printing Mr Baxters Call	8 sheets at 50s. per sheet	20l.
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It is a small octavo tract of 62 pages of text and a title leaf. The charge is at the rate paid to Green when he had Johnson's help. A thousand copies were printed, the Commissioners reported at their 1664 meeting, adding that "divers whereof all sorts are dispersed to the Indians and the rest ready for their use as they can be bound and there may be occasion." The next mention of the CALL is in the charges for the year ending in September 1667, where an entry reads:

To 4 hundred Mr Baxters Call bound at 3s. per hundred	12s.
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The CALL was reprinted in a sixteenmo format "By S. G. for the Corporation in London for the Indians in New England, 1688." The contents of the eight sheets of 1664 filled 188 of the smaller pages, with two blanks, making 12 sheets marked A-M. Five copies of the 1688 edition are recorded.

☞ There is a convincing account of Baxter's part in the negotiations with the Crown for the renewal of the charter for propagating the gospel in New England and parts adjacent, in Matthew Sylvester's *Reliquiae Baxterianae: or Mr. Richard Baxter: Narrative of the most Memorable Passages of his Life and Times*. London 1669.

CHAPTER XI

THE HALF-WAY COVENANT

A CANKEROUS GROWTH

PRESIDENT DUNSTER stumbled and lost his balance when he tried to make sense out of the expectation held generally throughout the community that parents would ease the way to eternal salvation by the sprinkling of their infant offspring. Five years later the Puritan clergy of New England began to trip each other up as opportunity offered in their efforts to find out how they could best serve the interests of their order without visibly tampering with the fundamental regulations upon which their influence in the community depended. After another five years, in 1662, a smouldering dry rot of discord burst into flame.

In every part of Europe the influence of the priestly caste depended upon inherited habits and traditional practices which had lost much of their vigor by prolonged repetition. The Independent migration to a new England was a deliberate, earnest effort to restore vitality to spiritual fundamentals and to find a solid basis for an everyday communal life consistent with an abiding belief in and reliance on the scriptural Word of God.

The Ordinance of Infant Baptism, as an insurance of protection from the horrors of hell fire for children who were foreordained to die before they reached the age of discretion when they would become responsible for their own eternal future, was an inherited practice which it was safer for ordinary folk to follow. It was accepted without question by most of the first settlers on the Massachusetts Bay. Thirty years later, the affairs of the colony were passing into the control of persons who had been baptized as infants and had grown up under New World conditions. They had grown up to be God-fearing, church-going citizens, but it was coming to be realized by the older leaders of Church and State that some of the most respected members of the community had neglected, while making their way in the economic and social worlds, to enjoy reportable religious experiences or to perform the initiatory rites which would have made them church members. This was a situation which augured ill for the future of a theocratic commonwealth.

The dangers inherent in such a situation had been foreseen, and these

had led to the summoning of the synod that met at Cambridge in 1646 and put forth the PLATFORM OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE three years later. This provided a firm foundation upon which an undivided church and state could be built if New England remained faithful to the designs of its founders. It presented the framework of a beautiful but a visionary structure, and a small group which included most of the recognized intellectual leaders among the clergy as well as the laity realized that it could not be made to serve the needs of the dangerously unsettled existing conditions from which escape was impossible. These men dominated a conference that was called together in 1657 for the purpose of devising a workable formula which would adapt the PLATFORM to the actual constitution of the solid citizenry of the colony. This conference quickly agreed upon a recommendation to the churches that provision be made for regularizing the baptism of the children of those persons who had themselves been baptized and who "understand the Grounds of Religion, and are not Scandalous, and solemnly own the Covenant in their own Persons." These baptized parents who were not communicants because they had not professed spiritual regeneration, were barred from church membership with its symbolic covenant of the Communion of the Lord's Supper.

It could have been anticipated that the result of this attempt to compromise with reality would be to provide a basis for more violent discussions with sharper differences of opinion. Nothing would do except to call another synod. This would possess the authority to speak the mind of New England churches as a whole. Above seventy Elders and Messengers met in Boston in March 1662 and sat at intervals until September. Then by a vote of six to one a typically English compromise was adopted, which in effect reaffirmed the formula of 1657. It was a frank recognition of the existing state of public affairs which imperatively demanded that the American colonists present a united front if they were to hope to maintain themselves unaffected by the changes which had already taken place in England. Church membership might still be limited to public professors of a state of regeneration, but others who were the children of church members and who outwardly conformed to the customary religious observances would be allowed to present their children for the rite of baptism.

When the Synod of 1662 assembled the situation was complicated by the provision in the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company which restricted the right to election as a freeman to church members. When

the Company became a colony the two had been so largely identical that the limitation had no real significance. In 1660 it was still true of most of the outlying settlements that church and township were the same people. These settlements had been founded by groups of parishioners headed by their pastor who moved to a new location where they erected a church edifice which became the business and social as well as the religious center of a unified community. Newcomers sought admission to the communal circle, or moved beyond its influence. This was no longer true of Boston or Salem, and the principal current use of the limitation was as a weapon which those who wanted to annoy the colonists could employ effectively. Thus it came about that some ten weeks after the Synod of 1662 met, the royal officials in London dispatched a letter in the King's name which arrived in Boston shortly before the Synod held its final sessions. This letter renewed the charter of the colony upon conditions, one of which was that "all freeholders of competent estates, not vitious in conversation and orthodox in religion (though of different persuasions concerning church government) may have their votes in the election of all officers, civil and military." The General Court acted deliberately and after consideration complied by abolishing the provision which made church membership a prerequisite for citizenship. It substituted another which provided that only those should be admitted to civil rights whose orthodoxy had been certified by the clergyman of the community in which they lived, which could have amounted to the same thing.

The Synod voted by an overwhelming majority to adopt the compromise proposition of a "Half-Way Covenant," and referred this to the General Court, where on October 2:

The Reverend Mr. John Wilson, Sen., Mr. Richard Mather, Mr. John Allin, & Mr. Zech Symmes came into the Court, & presented to the Court the result of the late synod, wch the Court, on their perusall, judged it meete to commend the same unto the consideration of all the churches & people of this jurisdiction, and for that end ordered the printing thereof, the originall copie being left on file.

The legislators recognized the importance of making certain that the language of this document was not tampered with when it was being put into type. It came up for discussion again on October 8, when it was voted:

This Court, having ordered the printing of the result of the synod, doe commend it unto the reverend elders who presented the same, by order of the synod,

that an epistle or preface suitable to the said worke be forthwith prepared, & sent to the presse, & that Mr. Mitchell doe take the oversight of the same at the presse, for the preventing of any erratars.

Increase Mather was a delegate to the Synod, accompanying his father as a representative of the Dorchester church. In the controversy that developed the two took opposite sides, the younger man joining forces with President Chauncy and John Davenport of New Haven. When the issue was transferred to the General Court, Increase attended with a statement of the case for the opposition written by Davenport, supported by remarks of his own. On October 21 he wrote Davenport a report of what had occurred when their papers were presented:

Some of the Court would very faine have had them throwne out againe, without so much as reading them, but the major parte were not soe violent, they have voted that what the Sinod have done shall be printed: it was moved allsoe that what yourselves & wee have done might be printed allsoe, but all the answer that could be obtained was that wee might doe as wee would, but they would not vote for such a thing, & wee must count it a favour that wee were not commanded to be silent. It is our purpose therefore to print what wee have given into the Court, of yours and ours, many that are true to the cause desiring us soe to doe.

Increase Mather certainly thought that it only remained to make arrangements with the printer at Cambridge, where the press was the property of the College, whose President was the third of the triumvirate which led the defense of conservatism. It is inconceivable that he should not have known of another vote recorded by the Court on that same October 8 and not have realized what it portended. This read:

For prevention of irregularities & abuse to the authority of this country by the printing presse, it is ordered, That henceforth no copie shall be printed but by the allowance had & obtained under the hands of Capt. Daniel Gookin & Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, until this Court shall take further order therein.

The above vote is recorded under the date of October 8, with more other business than is likely to have been concluded at a single sitting, so that the action may actually have been taken at a subsequent adjournment. This possibility is confirmed by what took place eight months later, when the vote was repealed. The printed records have under the date May 27, 1663:

It is ordered, that the printing presse be at liberty as formerly, till this Court shall take further order, & the late order is heereby repealed.

What had taken place between the two dates is only partly revealed by the text of the actual vote which is dated June 2, 1663:

Whereas at ye last session of the Genll Court: Capt Daniel Gookin & Mr Mitchell were nominated & impowered for the allowing of such Coppies as were presented to ye printing presse at Cambridge, who refusing to allow of any Coppies, or to accept ye trust committed to ym, The interuption thereby is greatly to the Dammage of the printers & owners of the presse, who do joyntly desire the favor of this Honed Court that some other meet persons yt are willing to accept such a trust may be impowered yrin; or yt otherwise ye intanglemt hereby put upon the printers & owners of the presse may be released.

Thomas Danforth. In behalfe of ye
owners of ye presse & printers

The Court see meete to sett the presse at the liberty as formerly till this Court shall take further Order & ye late order is heeby repealed, their brethren the deputs Consenting heereto.

2d June 1663

Edw: Rawson Secret

The Deputs Consent heerto

William Torrey Cleric

In October 1662 the Cambridge printers were producing an average of nearly ten printed pages of the INDIAN BIBLE each week, and this was maintained until a fortnight before the date of the repeal of the licensing act. The printing ordered on October 2-8 was finished by January 12. The almanac for the year which began on March 25 must have been done by that date. Nothing else is known to have been printed during that winter. The vote quoted above as of October 2 is dated October 8 on the title page reading:

PROPOSITIONS CONCERNING THE SUBJECT OF BAPTISM AND CONSOCIATION OF CHURCHES; Collected and Confirmed out of the Word of God, by a Synod of Elders and Messengers of the Churches in Massachusetts-Colony in New-England. Assembled at Boston, according to the Appointment of the Honoured General Court, In the Year, 1662. Cambridge in New-England: Printed by S. G. for Hezekiah Usher at Boston in New-England. 1662.

Usher's name in the imprint calls attention to the failure of the legislators to provide for paying for the printing that they had ordered or to specify that there should be a gratuitous distribution to the clergy, public officials, or to themselves. It was a publication for which a demand could be foreseen throughout the colony and the Boston merchant may have been glad to assume the cost of printing it. But there is evidence

that Usher did not always pay the whole cost of a book printed for him according to the imprint.

The text of the Propositions fills 32 pages, 4 sheets marked B-E, ending neatly in the middle of the last page. Each page has 36 lines $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, leaving a $\frac{3}{4}$ inch margin for notes. The text was preceded by a lengthy preface as the Court recommended. This apparently gave the printers some trouble, although they were able to calculate accurately what space it would take when they began on it. If it had been set like the text of the Propositions it would have run over two full sheets and the problem was to avoid the necessity of inserting a single leaf. To avoid this the printers began by lengthening the lines and adding a line to each page, giving a page measuring a fraction over six by a little over four inches. When they were half through the Preface, on the seventh page, it became evident that they were still going to run over the second sheet. This developed when they had to decide on the type to use for two lengthy quotations. These were put into the smallest available type, ordinarily used for text only when filling the last page of an almanac. In this type they got from 84 to 88 characters in a line $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, and the 37 lines of the quotations occupy only $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the equivalent of 23 lines of the text type. By adding one more line to each of the remaining seven pages, 38 lines each, the Preface is closed at the end of line 38 on the reverse of leaf a_4 without an $\frac{1}{2}$ space of wasted white paper.

With one exception the documents concerning the licensing and censorship of the seventeenth-century press can be found in Clyde Augustus Duniway's *The Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts*, Harvard Historical Studies, 1906.

Robert F. Roden illustrated his *The Cambridge Press 1638-1692*, New York MCMV, with an admirable facsimile of the original manuscript of the petition and order dated June 2, 1663. Samuel G. Drake had quoted from this in his *History of Boston* when it was in the state archives, before 1856. Mr. Roden rediscovered it in the possession of the University Press at Cambridge, Massachusetts, and was allowed to reproduce it, apparently when it was too late to insert an adequate reference to it in his text, which partly explains the failure of subsequent writers on the subject to mention it.

PUBLISHING PROBLEMS

The Half-Way Covenant which is embodied in the Propositions of 1662 was to be the prevailing force behind the intellectual drift that

compelled New England Congregationalism unwillingly to adopt the course that it followed for the next two centuries. The PROPOSITIONS made a 6-sheet tract of 48 pages which was ordered to be printed on October 8. Copies reached Salem on January 12, when Pastor Higginson entered in his church records "The printed result of the last Synod comes to our churches recommended by the General Court." A vessel must have been about ready to cast off from the Boston or Salem dock, for the Propositions were reprinted at London before the year ended in March. This reprint is as perplexing a publication as any that concerns New Englanders. The only imprint on the title page is "Printed in the Year, 1662." This might mean that it was a private or subsidized rather than a regular trade publication. If so it might explain another curious feature. The Propositions of the Synod are reprinted together with the supporting Preface which was ascribed by Cotton Mather to the minister of the Cambridge church, Jonathan Mitchell, who had been chiefly responsible for the size of the majority by which they were adopted. The London edition also included a reply to Mitchell's Preface, which is announced on the tract's title page as "Whereunto is anext the Answer of the Dissenting Brethren and Messengers of the Churches of New-England, &c." Although this is mentioned on the title it occupies a separate series of signatures separately paged, with an error that suggests that it was set up by two compositors working hurriedly. It has a heading reading:

Anti-Synodalia Scripta Americana. Or, A Proposal by the Judgment of the Dissenting Messengers of the Churches of New-England . . . This Script or Treatise, by Gods Providence, falling into the hands of a Friend of the Truth, and the Contents thereof, &c. was published for the Churches good, although without any Commission from the Dissenting Brethren; which they are desired not to be offended with. Wherein there is an Answer to the Arguments alledged by the Synode.

A 7-page Preface to this section is signed "Philaethes." This is followed by the text which is addressed to Governor Endicott and the Deputies, which implies that it had been presented at the vociferous session of the General Court in October. It begins "A Plain Proposal of the Judgement of the Messengers of the Churches Dissenting from the Major Part, assembled in the Synode . . . touching the first Question which was What is the subject of Baptisme?" There was a good reason for anonymity if Cotton Mather stated correctly in his *Magnalia* that it was written by President Chauncy. Chauncy had signed a formal pledge

before the authorities made him president of the College that he would not express himself publicly on any question that involved the paedobaptist controversial issues.

This *ANTI-SYNODALIA* may have been reprinted in its turn with the imprint "Cambridge. Printed by S. G. and M. J. for Hezekiah Usher of Boston. 1664." It is circumstantially described in Charles Evans' *American Bibliography* with a full title and collation "pp. 100. 40." but without a statement of the source of the information. No record of an existing copy has been noted. If the collation is correct a copy when found may contain further supplementary matter not in the 1662 edition. The London *Anti-Synodalia* occupies only 38 pages and although these pages are larger than those of the Cambridge PROPOSITIONS their contents could hardly be stretched to fill more than twice the space.

While other good people in Massachusetts were arguing over the Half-Way Covenant, the long-ailing minister of a town on the northern outskirts of Boston completed a lengthy poetical effort which was to have more printings and presumably more readers than anything else written in English America except the new translation of the Psalms. This was Michael Wigglesworth's *The Day of Doom*. In his diary the author is said to have written on January 29, 1661 "I desire with all my heart and might to serve my Lord Christ . . . in finishing this work which I am preparing for the press." On the next page but clearly at a much later date he is said to have written:

It pleased the Lord to carry me through the difficulty of the forementioned work both in respect of bodily strength and estate, and to give vent to my book, and greater acceptance then I could have expected so that of 1800 there were scarce any unsold (or but few) at the years end; so that I was a gainer by them and not a loser. Moreover I have since heard of some success by those my poor labours. For all which mercies I am bound to bless the Lord. About 4 years after they were reprinted with my consent, and I gave them the proofs and marginal notes to affix.

In January of what would now be 1662 Wigglesworth was working on the manuscript preparatory to putting it into the hands of a printer. In September 1663 he sailed for Barbadoes in search of a milder climate than Malden, Massachusetts. Four years later than the first edition he provided marginal notes for a new edition.

There is a copy of this poem at the British Museum without an author's name on the title and with the imprint "London, Printed by J.G. for

P.C. 1666." The printer is likely to have been the second John Grismond and the publisher either Philip Chetwind, who put out such things as Shakespeare plays, or Peter Cole, who had New England connections which made him the publisher of the authorized reprint of the *Platform of Church Discipline* in 1653. The London 1666 edition of *The Day of Doom* does not have marginalia. It is the earliest recorded edition which has its title intact.

There is said to have been a fragmentary copy with a stub of a title at the New England Historic Genealogical Society which likewise did not have marginal notes. It is claimed that this was a copy of the first edition and that it was printed at Cambridge. There are also three fragmentary copies of an edition which looks like Cambridge printing, with marginal notes. It is supposed that this is the edition for which the author supplied notes in 1666. Six copies are recorded of a London edition dated 1673 and seven of a Boston edition of 1701, the earliest known with an American imprint.

Wigglesworth's memoranda do not state where his poem was printed first or second. Every practical consideration suggests that it would have been sent to England for the original publication. The Press at the New England Cambridge had so much work to do in the first half of 1662 that it was neglecting the profitable INDIAN BIBLE. If 1,800 copies of *The Day of Doom* were printed and nearly all of them were sold within a year, this could not have happened in America where the English settlements, after little more than holding their own from 1640 to 1650, had grown slowly for another decade. There would have been much more of a market in the Mother Country, where the day of doom may well have seemed imminent to book-buying Puritans in the second year of the Restoration. It could have been the title rather than the contents of the little volume which found for the author an English publisher who was ready to pay him after the work sold well. At just this time another epic poem with a better right to the name was nearing completion in a London garden where John Milton was dictating *Paradise Lost*, whose title lacked the dread fascination of an overhanging doom. Milton's lines were completed about 1663 but it was not until 1667 that they found a publisher who had 1,300 copies printed which it took him twenty months to get rid of with the help of seven variant titles.

There was more of a market in England, but the subject "found acceptance with some of the Saints here" according to Wigglesworth after

1666. Two years earlier a small octavo volume of 180 pages had appeared with the title:

A DISCOURSE OF THE LAST JUDGEMENT . . . Concerning the Judgement to come, and Our Preparation to stand before the Great Judge of Quick and Dead. Which are of sweetest Comfort to the Elect Sheep, and of most dreadful Amazement and Terroure to Reprobate Goats. By the Rev. Samuel Whiting, Pastor of the Church of Christe at Lynne in N. E. Cambridge: Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1664.

The discourse is preceded by five prefatory pages signed by John Wilson of Boston and Jonathan Mitchell of Cambridge in which they call attention to the fact that "it is observable . . . that two or three Treatises should be published among us looking this way; as intimating that We in this wilderness, where worldly cares and pleasures are apt to overcharge us, have more than ordinary need of that warning. But the reader will find this to have much in little room"—ten sheets folded to small pages it is true but set in correspondingly small type. A marginal note to the three treatises "published among us" names them as "Mr. Wigglesworth's Poem" between Whiting's Discourse which was printed at Cambridge and "Mr. Shepard on the Parable of the Virgins," which was "The Substance of divers Sermons now published from the Authors Notes for the common Benefit of the Lords People." This was printed at London in 1660 "by J. H. (John Hayes?) for John Rothwell at the Fountain in Goldsmiths-Row in Cheap-side, and Samuel Thomson at the Bishops Head in Pauls Church-yard." This "rich fund of experimental and practical divinity" was edited by the author's son with the help of his successor in the Cambridge pulpit who was a co-author of the preface in which it was mentioned as "published among us." Shepard's *Parable* filled a folio volume of 448 pages which did not rival Wigglesworth's poem as a publishing success but it was reprinted in 1695 at London, in 1797 at Falkirk in Scotland, in 1838 at Aberdeen and in the same year for the first time in America, at Boston.

⚙ Typographic history has little to do with the course of religious thought but a cursory survey of the situation which obliged the Cambridge Press to interrupt, perhaps gladly, the well-naid work on the INDIAN BIBLE, helps to an understanding of the place which the Press occupied in the community. The religious situation can be found explained in more dependable detail in Henry Martyn Dexter's *The Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years as seen in its Literature*, published in 1880. Less dependable but more

savory is Cotton Mather's account of what had gone on during the last half of the seventeenth century as it appeared to the son of a principal advocate for both sides of the discussions, in his *Magnalia Christi Americana* published at London in 1702. The points at issue are sympathetically summarized by Thomas J. Holmes in his *Increase Mather: A Bibliography of his Works*. Cleveland, Ohio, 1913. Professor Perry Miller attempts to provide an outline of the difficulties understandable to his own contemporaries in a paper on "The Half Way Covenant" in *The New England Quarterly* for December 1933.

☞ The available data concerning the editions of Wigglesworth's poems was brought together by Matt B. Jones in *Notes for a Bibliography of Michael Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom" and "Meat out of the Eater"* reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for 1929. The important Wigglesworth manuscript material is in the possession of the New England Historic Genealogical Society where only members of that Society are allowed to see it.

☞ A literary historian, secure in the belief that an American-born epic would not dare venture abroad, calculated correctly enough that in 1662 "There were then in New England probably about thirty-six thousand settlers, and in all the English colonies in the limits of the present United States, about eighty-five thousand. A copy of *The Day of Doom* was sold for one out of every twenty persons in New England, or one out of every forty-five in the colonies as a whole. A book which did as well today in relation to the population would break records as a 'best seller' for it would have a sale of four hundred thousand in New England alone and of more than two and a half million in the nation," a total not disproportionate to the reputed sales of Charles Sheldon's *In His Steps*.

☞ Other aspects of President Chauncy's administration are discussed in Professor Samuel Eliot Morison's *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, Harvard University Press. 1936.

SYNOD POLITICS

The reaction from the compromising opportunism of the Half-Way Covenant gained headway as the people of Massachusetts became confident that they could maintain their virtual freedom from disturbance by the newly installed crown officials in England. This feeling that they were for practical purposes an independent community gave the people as a whole an assurance that had not before been apparent; it had a less desirable effect upon the group of office holders who had come to control the administration of the colonial government. There was another inner circle of influential elders who had retired from active participation in public affairs without losing any of their lifelong interest in what was

going on. These elders became worried by the over-confidence of those who had succeeded to the direction of affairs, realizing the danger that these would become entrenched while the public was absorbed in the agitation over the liberalization of the sacraments. It was therefore arranged that the revered John Higginson of Salem should deliver the annual election sermon in Boston on May 27, 1663. This was printed with the title:

THE CAUSE OF GOD AND HIS PEOPLE IN NEW-ENGLAND, as it was Stated and Discussed in a Sermon Preached before the Honourable General Court . . . Cambridg, Printed by Samuel Green 1663.

The sermon was only conventionally admonitory, but when it was printed there was a prefatory address to The Christian Reader signed by two others of the most respected of the local clergy, John Wilson Senior and Samuel Whiting, which went straight to the point in language that is so strikingly modern in its phrasing that it raises a question as to the actual writer:

The Cause of God and his people . . . never needed more help then at this time. For some there are (and not a few) that are so engaged in their own interest, that let the cause of God and his people, sink or swim, they care not, so their own ends be compassed, and their own designs & projects may find more footing: and these are your self-loving worldly politicians, that are of this world.

Others there are so dissolute and prophane, & are risen up to such an height of impiety, that they do no more regard this Cause, than the dirt under their feet, they are so drowned in drink & other sensual delights, and are so heightened in their Oaths and blasphemies and other abominations, that God and his peoples cause are not in their thoughts: or if at any time this cause come into their minds, it is only to cast the foulest aspersions they can upon it, and to bespatter it with the basest obloquies and hard speeches . . . and to persecute it with tongue & pen and heart & hand . . .

The facts and the probabilities are in conflict throughout an attempt to arrange the publications dated in 1663 in the order in which they may have been printed, which alone makes the progress of the events which influenced their appearance intelligible. The ALMANACK for that year was by the President's son, Israel Chauncy, and it was printed by S. Green and M. Johnson. It should have been on sale when the year began in March. Much of the effectiveness of Higginson's election sermon, which was printed by Green alone, would have been lost if it had

not been issued promptly. Two other publications which were imprinted "by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson" ought to have been done during the months following the completion of the BIBLE in May and the relaxation of licensing in June if these had been the cause of the winter's "entanglement." The complication is that the one which is most likely to have been the object of the attempted suppression, Davenport's ANOTHER ESSAY, has at the bottom of the last page an advertisement of another book which also has the initials of both printers in the imprint, which is dated 1664:

There is now in the Press a small Treatise, Entitled, A Discourse of the Last Judgement, on Matth. 25.31. to the end, &c. By Mr. S. Whiting, Pastour of the Church of Christ at Lynne; which will shortly be extant.

The title of ANOTHER ESSAY refers to Davenport's own earlier statement on behalf of the Anti-Synod party which Increase Mather had presented to the General Court in the attempt to prevent the legislators from recommending the Propositions. When they were checkmated in their proposed move to circulate their side of the dispute to the public in print, Davenport and Mather rewrote their arguments after the publication of Mitchell's preface to the PROPOSITIONS. Their revised statements were thus an answer to Mitchell which came out with the title:

ANOTHER ESSAY FOR INVESTIGATION OF THE TRUTH, In Answer to two Questions Concerning I. The Subject of Baptism. II. The Consociation of Churches. By John Davenport B. of D. and Pastor of the Church of Christ, at New Haven, in New-England. Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. 1663.

Davenport's text fills 71 pages and is preceded by "An Apologetical Preface" on 7 leaves marked A and a, which may mean that this portion of the tract, which is the first published writing of Increase Mather, reached the printers after they had started work on Davenport's essay on sheet B, and that it was twice as long as had been expected.

Richard Mather had expressed himself clearly in advocating greater freedom in admitting to baptism the children of unregenerate but well-behaved parents as early as 1645. A dozen years later he gave Increase, who was about to go to England, an account of the conference of 1657 for his brother Nathaniel, who had it printed in 1659 at London. In the Synod of 1662 the father and son took opposite sides. When Increase re-entered the controversy after another decade, he explained in two lengthy treatises his reasons for changing sides and supporting the Half-Way

Covenant. This was after the death of his father and it brought him into agreement with most of the prominent members of the community. In 1663 Davenport's Essay with Increase Mather's Preface was so generally approved that Richard Mather and Mitchell felt it necessary to unite in an effort to counteract it in:

A DEFENCE OF THE ANSWER AND ARGUMENTS OF THE SYNOD . . . against the Reply made thereto, by the Reverend Mr. John Davenport . . . in his Treatise Entituled, Another Essay . . . Together with an Answer to the Apologetical Preface Set forth before that Essay. By some of the Elders who were Members of the Synod abovementioned. Cambridge: Printed by S. Green and M. Johnson for Hezekiah Usher of Boston. 1664.

Richard Mather's reply to Davenport occupied 13 sheets, 102 pages holding some 44,000 words set in pica type. Mitchell used over 20,000 more words to answer Increase Mather, but these were put in nonpareil type which filled only 46 pages, 6 sheets marked A-F, placed before Richard Mather's Defence, with errata for the following section at the bottom of the last leaf, F₄.

While the controversialists were marshaling their arguments, each side sought support from the writings of the Founding Fathers of the colony. Davenport sponsored one of these with a claim which awaits confirmation that it had a current timeliness in the title:

A DISCOURSE ABOUT CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN A NEW PLANTATION WHOSE DESIGN IS RELIGION. Written many Years since, By that Reverend and Worthy Minister of the Gospel, John Cotton B.D. And now Published by some Undertakers of a New Plantation, for General Direction and Information. Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson MDCLXIII.

The claim is repeated on page 3 of this 24-page tract:

a New Plantation, wherein all, or the most considerable part of free Planters profess their desire and purpose of enjoying, & securing to themselves and their Posterity, the pure and peaceable enjoyment of the ordinances of Christ in Church-fellowship with his People, and have liberty to cast themselves into that model or form of a Common-wealth which shall appear to be best for them.

On the other side there was no indirection in the controversial purpose behind the publication of:

THE CHURCH-MEMBERSHIP OF CHILDREN, and their right to baptism, according to that holy and everlasting Covenant of God, established between

Himself and the Faithfull and their Seed after them, in their Generations: Cleared up in a Letter, sent unto a worthy Friend of the Author, and many yeares agoe written touching that Subject; By Thomas Shepard, sometimes Pastor of the Church of Christ at Cambridge in New-England. Published at the earnest request of many: for the Consolation and Encouragement, both of Parents and Children in the Lord. Cambridg Printed by Samuel Green. 1663.

The Preface to this, which is signed by the younger Thomas Shepard, is the clearest statement of the position of the supporters of the Synod's Propositions as interpreted by the Cambridge school of theology. Where the opposition claimed that only those who had publicly testified to their rebirth in the Lord could be admitted to any of His holy sacraments, Shepard maintained that his father had demonstrated "The Membership of Children of Church-Members proved to be of Divine Institution, and likewise . . . in particular Churches, when they are grown up . . . until they are excommunicated, unless there be a dissolution of the person by death, or of the Church-society." When it was too late to find another place for it, the editor's attention was called to an even stronger statement of this position by "Chemnitius, that eminent light in the Church of God in those elaborate workes of his against the Papists." This was therefore printed on the back of the title apparently by a third impression of this sheet. No middle ground was left by the declaration of Chemnitius that:

It is not to be left free, to the choice of those who have been baptised in Infancy, when they come to be adult, whether or no they will have that confirmed, which was done in their Baptisme; as though the Covenant of Grace, and Testament of Peace, which is offered and sealed up to little Children in Baptisme, should then first begin to be established, when the consent of their will, when Adult, is added thereunto: for from this wicked foundation the Anabaptists simply have taken away, and Condemne Paedobaptisme . . .

But as for them that shall do otherwise, the most severe comminations of the wrath and Indignation of God are to be heap't up, and set before them; unto which excommunication is to be added.

Withal the younger Shepard found that his father's letter tended:

to prove the Expediency and Necessity in that case of intrusting free Bur-gesses which are members of Churches gathered amongst them according to Christ, with power of Chusing from amongst themselves Magistrates, and men to whom the managing of all Public Civil Affairs of Importance is to be committed.

The first contribution to the discussion that came out dated 1664 was:

ANIMADVERSIONS UPON THE ANTISYNODALIA AMERICANA. A Treatise, printed in Old England, In the Name of the Dissenting Brethren In the Synod held at Boston in New-England, 1662. Tending to Clear the Elders and Churches of New-England from those Evils and Declinings charged upon many of them in the two Prefaces before the said Book. Together with An Answer unto the Reasons alledged for the Opinions of the Dissenters. And a Reply to such Answers as are given to the Arguments of the Synod. Cambridge: Printed by S. G. and M. J. for Hezekiah Usher of Boston. 1664.

The author was John Allin, who dated his own Preface "From my Study in Dedham in N. E. 6 day 11 mon. 1663." The copy at the Massachusetts Historical Society, one of eight that have been located, has on the inside margin of the title page, as was the recipient's habit, "Tho. Shepard's booke ye gift of ye Reverend Authour March 31, 1664." The Preface was written before the printing began, for the text begins with page 1 on the last leaf of the first sheet, which contains the title and Preface. There are 11 sheets, A-L, with the text paged 1-82. From the author's January 6 to his friend's March 31 was twelve weeks, 72 working days in which the printers did 85 small quarto pages of text. It was during these weeks that the almanac for the coming year, a single sheet with the largest run of any current publication, would have had a prior claim to attention. Those same spring months also allowed ample time after the appearance of Davenport's *ANOTHER ESSAY* for Richard Mather from Dorchester and the pastor of the Cambridge church to put their heads together to perfect their reply to the New Haven minister. Jonathan Mitchell had particular reasons for having no weak spots in his utterances from the College pulpit, for below in the congregation would be another of Davenport's allies, the President whose responsibility for the *ANTISYNODALIA AMERICANA* must have been current gossip even if not acknowledged. There are grounds for speculation in the fact that none of the controversialists of those years dropped a hint that has been detected of Chauncy's authorship of that tract or of his promise to remain outside the controversies on this sore subject.

CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP

Another publication of 1664 ought to have ended once for all the whole bitter controversy. Instead, it smouldered with intermittent flare-ups for a century and a half, and then burst out to sear New England

intellectuals in the Unitarian revolt from Trinitarianism. In 1664 there was one Bostonian, who must have spoken for more than himself alone, who induced thirty-nine Massachusetts clergymen to allow their names to be printed as agreeing to unite in sacramental fellowship with every other well-behaved group of Protestant Christians, and beyond this to recognize Papists and other "semi-Christians" as within the pale of brotherhood. It was an interpretation of the deeper meaning of Christianity that is only tentatively accepted with reservations in 1945.

It was a fashion in 1660 to honor the memory of a deceased pastor by printing his last sermon, or two if financial circumstances warranted. When John Norton of the First Church of Boston died, this wealthy congregation did better by issuing:

THREE CHOICE AND PROFITABLE SERMONS Upon Several Texts of Scripture . . . By the Reverend Servant of Christ, Mr. John Norton late Teacher of the Church of Christ at Boston in N.E. The First being the Last Sermon which he Preached at the Court of Election at Boston (May xxii. 1661.) The Second was the Last which he Preached on the Lords Day (March xxix. 1663.) The Third was the Last which he Preached at his Weekly-Lecture (April ii. 1663.). Wherein (Besides many other excellent and seasonable Truths) is showed, the Lords Sovereignty over, and Care for his Church and People, in order to both their Militant and Triumphant condition; and their Fidelity and good affection towards himself. Cambridge. Printed by S.G. and M.J. for Hezekiah Usher of Boston. 1664.

The most readable of the three is the election sermon, which was characterized by Lindsay Swift in his brilliant account of these sermons as "the most eccentric of the many curious productions of this long series. He himself calls it 'a Divine Plaister for a Sin-sick Out-cast'; and, carrying out his pathological metaphor, he says 'God will apply a sanative Cataplasma a healing Plaster' . . . He uses pedantic Latin and common English in parallelism. His tropes are often pushed to the extreme limits of good taste, as when he says 'that David's tears fall into God's bottle, is matter of joy.' A merit of the sermon is its brevity," a merit due perhaps to its association with two others, which it might not have had when delivered.

It was customary long afterward for such a publication to be seen to the press by a committee representing the parish, and for one member to dominate its action and often to pay the bill. If this was the case with Boston's First Church in 1664, that member decided to make its outstanding position even more secure by adding a fourth part to the

memorial. This addition, introduced after the printing had started, was an English version of an Epistle in Latin composed by the deceased Mr. Norton. It was provided with a separate title, but the continuity of the signatures establishes it as an integral part of the publication:

A COPY OF THE LETTER RETURNED BY THE MINISTERS OF NEW-ENGLAND TO MR. JOHN DURY ABOUT HIS PACIFICATION. Faithfully Translated out of the Original Manuscript written in Latine, by the Reverend Author of the Three former Sermons. With some Considerations premised about that Subject, necessary for these Times. By a Lover of Truth and Peace. Published in the Year 1664.

John Durie was a typical Scotch fanatic, stubbornly holding to a single idea with a clarity of vision, depth of insight, and recklessness of all other considerations that were two centuries ahead of the times into which he was born. He saw that the Protestant interpretation of Christianity led the way toward a better world for humanity. He saw even more clearly that the essentials of Christianity were being buried under the frills and furbelows of sectarianisms which did not touch the essentials of the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, but which produced a distraught world in which it was impossible to live a Christian life.

Durie, repulsed with polite acquiescence wherever he went, got around to writing to the unpromising New English Independents in 1663. There was not at that time an Elder anywhere in the American settlements whose published remains justify a suspicion that he would have accepted Durie's pleas for Christian unity or would have stood forth publicly to present them for the consideration of others. There was one such person, however, an unnamed layman who can only be identified as an influential member of the First Church of Boston, who was powerful enough to command the acceptance of his wishes by two-score of the clergy of the colony. It may have been at his suggestion that his pastor replied to Durie's epistle, but this cannot be known and it is not material. Norton composed the reply in scholastic Latin, in fulsome terms which were a polite expression of agreement with the indisputable truths of Durie's proposals. This much can be deduced from the translation, which is characterized by a literary style that bears no resemblance to anything in the three sermons. It went so far as to declare "That they own, all those Churches professing the Protestant Religion, and retaining the fundamentals of Doctrine, and essentials of Order, (if they be otherwise peaceable, and walk orderly) for Brethren; and that they are ready to reach unto them the right hand of fellowship."

This "Testimony of our Brotherly Communion with the whole company of Protestants professing the Faith of Christ Jesus" is signed by thirty-nine Massachusetts clergymen, the Pastors or Teachers of thirty churches in as many localities, with two "Ministers of the Word" who were no doubt waiting to be called to a settlement. Only one of the three Boston churches was represented, but of this one and six others both pastor and teacher signed, the others being Roxbury, Braintree, Charlestown, Rowley, Ipswich, and Hampton. These places reflect changing conditions. Several of the prosperous communities no longer supported two ministers for a single church while smaller places where the church had not yet divided were dutifully maintaining their aging incumbents.

The translated letter is preceded by four introductory pages which contain the considerations premised. These were written by someone who thought and wrote clearly, and saw through the confused contentions of the disputants to the elemental factors of the underlying problems that had perplexed the Synods of 1646 and 1662. Maybe it was his presence dozing in his pew which kept John Norton from referring to the Synod in his last sermon. He must have been a pillar of the Church, cheerfully paying his share to have these sermons printed for the Glory of God and of the First Church, but he had heard more than he wanted of paedobaptism. He summed up the situation:

From which Fountain, it may justly be feared, hath sprung a jealousy in the minds of sundry persons in this Country, That the Determination of the late Synod June 1662, if attended unto, would bring into the Churches of New-England a practice, contrary both to the Frame of their Churches, and to the Judgement of those famous Worthies that at first their Churches were blest withall; when it will be found most evident to any that shall impartially survey the Constitution and state of the said Churches, That the principall, if not the sole Reason, why the same things then agreed upon, were not long before set foot and practiced, was not any doubt or scruple about the duty of the things themselves, but the want of Agreement about the Ways and Means, how they might most conveniently and safely be put in practice; which being now fully cleared up in the Propositions of the said Synod, the Aspersions cast upon their former Church-administrations, as too much favouring the way of the Separation, is not onely now removed, but an expedient found out for the holding Communion with other Orthodox Churches, in things lawful and necessary without any prejudice to the Purity of their Worship.

The commendable receiving and practicing of this Truth by some Churches among them, and necessity of attending thereunto by all, is most convincingly evident by many writings published abroad in the world by many Eminent

persons, in the name of others wherein much paines is taken in clearing the way of those Churches, from the imputation of Schism and separation from others; but in none more then in a Letter returned with the Subscription of the names almost of all the Elders universally in this place, unto a Letter of the Reverend and Learned Mr John Dury, who ever since the year 1635, had been labouring for a Pacification between the Reformed Protestant Churches of Europe. . . .

From whence it will necessarily follow, that seeing other Churches so qualified, although they should dissent from them in many Points of Religion, are owned as Brethren, and that in way of fellowship, if those that so profess, shall refuse to conferre the seal of Baptism to the Children of such Parents as belong to any suchlike Churches, according as is expressed in the afore-said Propositions of the Synod; they will neither be able to avoyd contradicting their own words and writings, nor yet secure themselves from the guilt of dissimulation . . .

As for the Translation of the Letter; they who had the chieftest hand therein, have no other design, then by approving themselves as Lovers of Truth and Peace, to undeceive simple-hearted and honest-minded persons who are ready to be carried away with the dissimulation of such, as are through a kind of preposterous Zeal, unwilling to have any of the Common Privileges of the Church of God bestowed upon any, whose effectual Sanctification may be questioned; which is the Cause, as one observeth, of a Schismatical inclination of some godly and religious persons. It is much more grievous to think aright, and be found a Schismatick, then to think amiss in things not fundamental, and be of a peaceable spirit.

The prefatory Considerations close by citing the sainted William Ames as authorizing the baptism of expositious infants of unknown parents if born among Christians, of the children of those who openly violate the Covenant if baptized with some distinction, of the illegitimate if either parent profess repentance, or if their education is undertaken by others, of the offspring of contumacious excommunicates who are not conveniently to be baptized unless by the interposition of meet sureties, and that "Infants of Papists, and such like, who are semi-Christians, may be baptized, if they find a meet surety, under whose power may be their education."

CHAPTER XII

COMPETITION *vs* COÖPERATION

SEPARATE MAINTENANCE

THE COMMISSIONERS discharged Johnson on May 14, 1663, but this did not take and they discharged him again at the end of another year, but it is not clear whether this was in May 1664 or twelve months from the date when the news arrived from London that the printer's salary was to be paid for a fourth year. The Corporation apparently paid in London for the period when Johnson absented himself from the Cambridge shop and afterward considered an adjustment to recover this amount, but the outcome is not known. The Commissioners on their part reported at their meeting on September 10, 1664:

wee dismissed Marmaduke Johnson the Printer att the end of his tearme agreed, for having improved him as well as wee could for the yeare past by imploying him with our owne printer to print such Indian workes as could be prepared which hee was not able to doe alone, with such other English Treatises which did present; for which allowance hath bine made proportionable to his labours.

John Eliot had already written on August 25 what reads like a letter of recommendation to be delivered in person to those to whom it was addressed:

My request also, in respect of Mr Johnson, is, that seeing the Lord hath made him instrumentall to finish the Bible, and Baxter, and is now returning for Engld, you would please to give him his due incouragmt, and such further countenance and commendation as your wisdomes shall see meet to afford him.

Evidently Johnson in Boston was getting ready to sail for London at the time the Massachusetts Commissioners were preparing to set out overland to attend their annual meeting held in 1664 at Hartford. There the regular letter to the Corporation was approved, containing one paragraph which reads as if it had been inserted in a draft which had been prepared in advance:

For after time wee hope to have all books for the Indians use printed upon ezier tearmes by our own printer especially if it please your honors to send over a

fonte of Pica letters Roman and Italian which are much wanting for printing the Practice of Piety and other workes and soe when the presse shall bee improved for the use of the English wee shalbe carefull that due allowance be made to the Stocke for the same.

Samuel Green claimed later that it was his idea to offer this obvious countersuggestion to another proposal which may have had something to do with delaying Johnson's departure for England. Unaided, the Commissioners would scarcely have known the precise typographical specifications for what was wanted. Green did not remind them that a supply of type of a suitable size sufficient to print separate editions of the Gospel of Matthew and the Psalms had been sent from London nine years before. This type had not been used for the Indian work since 1658 and in 1662 it was accounted for as "the letters that came before they were mingled with the Colledges."

The Commissioners may have found that Johnson's status as a salaried member of the staff of a shop run on a piecework basis complicated their task as conscientious agents of the missionary society. This is one possible explanation of their obvious desire to get rid of him. Green shared this desire for the same and other understandable reasons. Eliot was equally anxious to have him retained as a salaried workman subject to the translator's own instructions.

Johnson found it no easier to get away when he was discharged the second time than he had when the County Court told him to leave the colony at the earliest opportunity. He was still there on October 2, 1664 when President Chauncy wrote to Governor Boyle:

Right worthy and much honoured in the Lord

Whom the Lord hath bene pleased, though in a more remote way, with the charge of innumerable soules of the poore Indians heere natives in America . . . It hath pleased you to send over to us an able printer Marmaduke Johnson who though he hath bene in former times loose in his life and conversation, yet this last yeere he hath bene very much reformed, and in likelihood one that may carry on the printing worke wth greater advantage if your selves shall be pleased to commit the managing of the presse to him, and to furnish him wth fonts of letters for the printing of English, Indian, latine and Greeke, and some also for Hebrewe, provided that he live not asunder from his wife, as he hath done before, over long, wch now is reported to bee dead, as also that the Colledge to wch all impressions from the foundation of it belonge, together wth the licensing, correcting, and oversight of bookes

printed, have a suitable allowance by the sheet, wch they have bene deprived of in the whole impression of the Indian Bible wch losse I intreat you to consider, for it is not too late, besides other Indian books have bene printed wthout any advantage at all to the Colledge.

The letter from the Corporation four and a half years before this, which introduced Johnson to the colony, asked that "his name may be mentioned with others as a printer" on the titles of the INDIAN BIBLE, and this had been done. A letter from his brother a year before makes it equally clear that from the beginning they had in mind the possibility that he might set up for himself. The knowledge of this intention may have influenced Green to arrange some sort of collaboration or partnership which would keep Johnson under his control, and this may be reflected in the imprints in which both their names or initials appear beginning early in 1663.

Johnson, as his brother pointed out, seems not to have saved enough out of his salary to provide himself with an outfit with which to open a shop, and his friends now appealed to the generous Londoners on his behalf. Boyle's reply to the two suggestions received from the Commissioners and the College President, which differed in the vital detail, survived in the archives of the New England Company, endorsed "Febr: 1664(5). A foule copie of the lre to the Comrs of the United Colonies of New Engl.:"

Wee have sent over according to yor request some Letters such as by advice of Mr Johnson are judged most convenient for the work wch wee have consigned to Mr Eliot because wee understand that you will not meete till September next & for that there may be occasion to make use thereof in the meane time.

As touching Marmaduke Johnson the Printer wee have recd lres of recommendacon from Mr Eliot & Mr Chauncy president of yor Colledge in New England both wch give ample testimonie of his abilitie & fitnes to be employed in printing books in the Indian language & desire that the peces wch doe yet remayne may passe through his hands, upon whose recomdacons (being men of skill & judgmt in that business wee have conceived such an opinion of his abilitie that wee had thoughts of contracting wth him againe much desiring that he should be further made use of if it may be conveniently done) but we referre it to your wisdomes after you shall have heard what Mr Elliott & Mr Chauncy can say on his behalf to doe therein as God shall direct you.

In the meane time wee pray you to comitt the presse Letters & implemts of printing belonging to us to the care of Mr Elliott to be preserved for our use.

Johnson and the new type undoubtedly traveled together to Boston harbor. The next ship that is recorded as arriving from London was the *Society*, which made port in May 1665. Forthwith somebody acted promptly and effectively upon hearing of the return of the bothersome printer, for on May 27 the General Court enacted the second Massachusetts censorship order:

For the Preventing of Irregularities & Abuse to the Authority of this Country by the Printing Press:

It is Ordered by this Court & the Authority thereof, that there shall be no printing presse allowed in any tounne wthin this jurisdiction but in Cambridge, nor shall any person or persons presume to print any copie but by the allowance first had & obteyned under the hands of such as this Court shall from time to time impower thereunto, & for the present do nominate & impowre Captain Daniel Gookin, Mr Tho: Danforth, the present President of the College, and Mr Jonathan Michell, or any three of them duly to survey such copie or coppies as are offered, and in case of non observance of this order to forfeit the presse to the country & be disabled from using any such profession wthin this jurisdiction for the time to come; provided this order shall not extend to the obstruction of any copie which this Court shall judge meete to order to be published in print. The Deputies have passed this desiring the consent of our honourable Magistrates.

William Torrey. Cleric.

Consented unto provided that instead of Capt. Daniell Gookin and Mr Tho: Danforth, Mr John Shearman and Mr Tho: Shepperd be deputed to joyn with the present President and Mr Jonathan Mitchell any two of whome shall have power to allowe or prohibit printing according to this order.

Richard Bellingham, Governor.

The change in the board of censors was important. The Magistrates unquestionably believed that Gookin and Danforth could be depended on by the instigators of the act to block anything that Johnson might plan to print on his own account that had any worldly, and profitable, appeal. The morals of the community would be equally safe, in their opinion, in the hands of the four clergymen, while the barefaced attack on the printer who enjoyed the favor of the London merchants was stopped.

On September 13, 1665, the Commissioners wrote to Boyle:

Your Honor's direction referring to the printing presses we have also attended, and at Mr. Eliot's request we have consented to allow for the printing of the Practice of Piety forty shillings per sheet for the printer, making allowance for the correction of the press and we finding paper: and Mr. Johnson is joint partner with our printer in the work.

What letters he hath now brought over we do not yet understand the gift of, but are advised that they are not the same that were advised by himself here. He told us that the whole font were not belonging to the Corporation by reason that the monies that he received of yourselves was not sufficient for the purchase thereof. We are not able of giving your honor a further account by reason that we are ignorant of what monies he received of yourselves as also of the account of the letters he acknowledged to be yours: He having now brought over a printing press with supply of letters for himself; besides his interest which he claims in that font of letters which he says is yours.

We have also conferred with Mr. Chauncy, Mr. Eliot being present, in relation to his letter, and find that the former president [Dunster] did agree with the printer to allow the College for the use of their press, letters and all other charges about the same, correcting of the press included, the sum of ten shillings per sheet, but the press and letters being now yours and a full allowance made the printers for all other charges, we see not the like reason for it now, yet nevertheless, if you shall please to order any encouragement to the College, on this or any other consideration we shall thankfully embrace it . . .

After June 1665 the historian of printing in the town of Cambridge in New England has to keep track of two master printers and three printing outfits, each consisting of a press and a sufficient supply of type to produce a tract of moderate size. Two of these presses were in the same room on the ground floor of a brick building which the owner of one of them had paid for, on land belonging to the other, the Harvard Yard. The equipment belonging to the College had been left by its first President, to whom it had passed at the death of his wife, who had inherited it from her first husband who had brought it from England in 1638. This had been operated by Samuel Green since 1649. He had moved into the brick building, which had been built by the Corporation for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians of New England to be a dormitory for native students, when it was not needed for that purpose and when the missionary society proposed to employ much of the printer's time. This arrangement with the printer proved unsatisfactory, and in 1660 the London society employed another printer to do its work and supplied him with another press and appurtenances. It also paid for a large supply of a special type designed for use in printing the Indian language. Green, the old printer, managed things so that the new one, Marmaduke Johnson, worked under him in a relationship not clearly understood. In 1665 Johnson returned from a trip to London with a third press and type suitable for ordinary bookmaking. Some of this

belonged to the Corporation and should have been placed with the Bible type in the Indian College. The remainder Johnson said had been bought with his own, or his friends', money, and this as well as the new press was probably kept in his own house which he purchased on February 20, 1665/6 near the center of the town of Cambridge.

EPHEMERAL PRINTING

The Cambridge imprints dated 1665 that are now known, with one exception, all have Green's name alone. In the spring he did the *ALMANACK* for this year compiled by Alexander Nowell of the Harvard class of 1664, and followed this with:

AN ASTRONOMICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE LATE COMET, As it appeared in New-England in the 9th, 10th, 11th, and in the beginning of the 12th Moneth, 1664. Together with a brief Theological Application thereof. By S. D. Cambridge, Printed by Samuel Green. 1665.

The comet was last seen on February 4, and the date "31.3.65" the last day of May, was added to Thomas Shepard's signature on the copy at the Massachusetts Historical Society. One other copy is recorded at the British Museum. The author was undoubtedly Samuel Danforth of Roxbury, who had maintained the interest in astronomy evidenced by his authorship of the almanacs of twenty years before. These published observations of the comet are the first sign from the Press that the interest in scientific thought which led at this time to the founding of the Royal Society had reached the colony.

Most, perhaps all, of the unsigned issues of 1665 were done by Green. The Commencement *THESES* and *QUAESTIONES* were out on August 8, and after the General Court adjourned in October a start was made toward establishing the regular practice of issuing each year's session laws by printing those that had been passed in May, August, and October. In September a four-page folder was produced which was referred to in an entry made on October 5 in the records of the Salem church:

The Pastor did then also acquaint the Church with the writing he had formerly mentioned and read unto them as a help to reduce the doctrine of the Synod into practice, it being a Direction for a public profession after private examination by the Elders . . . it being the same for substance propounded to and agreed upon by the Church of Salem at their beginning, the sixth of the sixth month 1629, it being now printed any that desired it, should have one of them for their use.

Because there is no other known claimant, the Cambridge Press is credited with an undated broadside that has been assigned to 1665, which is from many points of view the most significant piece of printing that had appeared in English America. It is on a half-sheet, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches, of paper with an unusual watermark, an elaborate figure of a man half the height of the broadside. The document is signed by R. Nicholls, who had been sent to administer the territory taken from the Dutch in 1664. This appeal to homesteaders, who had begun to trickle across the Hudson River while the Dutch were in possession, ought to have emanated from Manhattan Island, but it is possible that Governor Nicholls had sent an agent to Boston to arrange for stimulating the westward movement by having this broadside printed. Its terms were likely to appeal to New Englanders:

The Conditions for New-Planters In the Territories of His Royal Highnes
The Duke of York

The purchases are to be made from the Indian Sachims and are to be Recorded before the Governour.

The Purchasers are not to pay for their liberty of purchasing to the Governour.

The Purchasers are to set out a Town, and Inhabit together.

No Purchaser shall at any time contract for himself with any Sachim, without consent of his Associates: or special Warrant from the Governour.

The Purchasers are free from all manner of Assessments or Rates for five years after their Town-plot is set out, and when the five years are expired, they shall only be liable to the publick Rates, and Payments according to the Custom of other Inhabitants both English and Dutch.

All Lands thus Purchased, and possesst shall remain to the Purchasers, and their Heirs, as free Lands to dispose of as they please.

In all Territories of His Royal Highnes, Liberty of Conscience is allowed, Provided such Liberty is not converted to Licentiousness, or the disturbance of others, in the exercise of the Protestant Religion.

The several Townships have liberty to make their peculiar Laws, and Deciding all small Causes within themselves.

The Lands which I intend shall be first Planted, are those upon the West side of Hudson-River, at, or adjoining to the Sopes, but if any number of men sufficient for two or three, or more Towns, shall desire to plant upon any other Lands they shall have all due encouragement proportionable to their Quality, and Undertakings.

Every Township is Obligated to pay their Minister, according to such agreement as they shall make with him, and no man to refuse his Proportion, the

Minister being elected by the Major part of the Householders Inhabitants of the Town.

Every Township hath the free choice of all their officers both Civil, and Military, and all men who shall take the Oath of Allegiance to his Majesty, and are not Servants, or day-labourers: but are admitted to enjoy Town-lots are esteemed freemen of the Jurisdiction, and cannot forfeit the same without due process in Law.

R. Nicholls

In 1666 Green presumably did the regular annual publications, including the latest laws prepared after the Court adjourned in October. The only surviving title on which his name is found is a new edition of John Norton's *BRIEF CATECHISM*. Another issue of this year has a noncommittal imprint:

ABRAHAM'S HUMBLE INTERCESSION FOR SODOM, and The Lord's gracious Concessions in Answer thereunto: Containing sundry Meditations upon Gen. XVIII. from Ver. XXIII to the end of the Chapter. Wherein many things are spoken of concerning Believers leaning nearer to God . . . With sundry other things worthy of our most serious thoughts, helping us to be more Spiritual and Heavenly . . . By Samuel Whiting Pastor of the Church of Christ at Lyn in N. E. Printed and Sold at Cambridge. 1666.

The 343 small octavo pages of Meditations, like the same author's 160 pages on the Last Judgment printed two years before, keep to their spiritual purpose so strictly that, although the Anabaptists are mentioned, nothing has been noted to tell whether he sided for or against the Synod. There is reason for sympathy for the printers who added a note on the back of the last leaf which, as it takes only nine lines, is not unreasonable for the length of the treatise:

Reader, The Author's distance from the Press, [a dozen miles] and difficulty of the Copy, having occasioned the following Errata's; thou art therefore desired thus to correct them; viz . . . for Justly, read Fully; for running, read ruining; for souls read sorts; for day read may; for something read sometimes . . .

Green's *ALMANACK* for 1667 is the only imprint surviving for that year. The title carries the name of Samuel Brackenbury of the class of 1664, the third successive member of that scholarly class to be so honored. The only other recorded issue of the year is a small broadside issued in the name of the Governor to invite charitable contributions from the public to pay for supplies to be sent to the soldiers on the fleet that was

operating in the Caribee Islands. It is the first surviving instance of the use of the Press for an administrative, as distinct from legislative, purpose. It was the beginning of the end of the perquisites that had supported the clerical force in the offices of the colony, which had made written copies of tax notices and other announcements which had to be sent to each town and to members of the General Court and other officials. It was equally the beginning of an even longer struggle to maintain a hold on the official printing by political influence sufficiently strong to block rival or economical assaults.

PRIVATE PRINTING

In the summer of 1663 when the sheets of the two Testaments were in piles waiting to be bound and the metrical Psalms "going now to the press," John Eliot purposed in his heart to translate one of the devotional essays of the influential Richard Baxter. Baxter acknowledged the honor in a letter quoted in a previous chapter but urged the postponement of anything written by himself. Before his letter could reach Eliot the latter had completed the Indian version of Baxter's *CALL TO THE UNCONVERTED*. The printers were working on it when Eliot wrote a letter received by the Corporation by March 7. The *CALL* was paid for in September 1664, when the Commissioners replied to a reiterated desire that Baily's *PRACTICE OF PIETY* be printed next by requesting a fresh supply of readable type for the use "upon eazier terms by our own printer" i.e. Green. As Eliot anticipated that the oversight of the printing of the Psalms "will be some Diversion of me, from a present Attention upon these other proposed Works," the manuscript of Baily's tract may not have been ready until May 1664 when Johnson returned from a trip to London with the type for which the Commissioners had asked but which was consigned to Eliot and accompanied by instructions which gave the Apostle control of all the printing material that had been paid for from the missionary funds.

Eliot wrote to the Commissioners on August 25, 1664:

Mr Baxters Call is printed and dispersed, And although I have Mr Shepards Syncere Convert and Sound Believer all most translated, though not fitted and finished for the Presse, yet by advertizement from the honorable Corporation, I must lay that by and fall upon the Practice of Piety, wch I had intended to be the last; therefore this winter I purpose, if the Lord will, to set upon that booke.

In the quarter-century since its author's death, Lewis Baily's *Practice of Piety* had become a Puritan classic. It was entered on the Stationers Register in January 1611/12 by John Hodgetts of the Flower de Luce in Fleet Street near Fetter Lane. This son of a Staffordshire blacksmith had been apprenticed to the London booktrade in 1584, and he made his way in the world by issuing his share of the plays that caught the fancy of the contemporary public. He had an eye for other works that promised to sell well, and of these Baily's tract was among the most successful. The third edition dated 1613 is the earliest recorded, and the editions that have found their way into later New England institutions from libraries which began to be collected in the seventeenth century are mostly from its sixties and seventies.

The edition in Indian has on its title "Printed in the Year 1665" without a printer's name. It filled 25 sheets, A-Bb, folded in eights to give 400 pages measuring 5 by 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches. At the INDIAN BIBLE rate of a sheet a week which may have been bettered on this tract, it would have been a half-year's work. Johnson had returned from London in May with the type which had been requested for use on this tract, and it was not like John Eliot to postpone the printing of anything composed by himself. It is possible that the noncommittal imprint might mean that when the work of printing started there was some uncertainty regarding the payment as well as the credit for its production. Something of the sort seems to be implied in the Commissioners' report in September that at Eliot's request they had "consented to allow for the printing of the Practice of Piety forty shillings per sheet for the printer, making allowance for the correction of the press and we finding paper: and Mr. Johnson is joint partner with our printer in the work." The paper was undoubtedly from the surplus stock left over from the BIBLE. The reference to corrections is the nearest that has appeared to a recognition that author's changes were a problem then as always. The rate of payment, a little over half what Green had received when he did all the work on the BIBLE without the salaried Johnson's assistance, £3:10s. a sheet, may be explained by the larger type that was used, but the use of the word "consented" suggests an argument. The Commissioners paid £5 for binding 200 copies during the year that began in September 1666. The rate was sixpence each, twice the price paid for binding twice as many copies, 400 at three-pence each, of Baxter's CALL which had only one-third as many sheets, eight. At either rate the binder fared better than he had three years earlier, when he complained that he could not make a living by binding

200 copies of the BIBLE containing 145 sheets at two shillings and six-pence each.

The Commissioners referred to Eliot's work again in their letter of September 1665 without saying specifically whether the work of printing Bailly's PRACTICE had actually begun:

We understand by Mr Eliot that your honors have ordered him to translate into the Indian language and cause to be printed the Practice of Piety and some works of Mr Shepards which will cost near two hundred pounds. We humbly conceive that those with what are already printed will be sufficient for the natives for many years and had they been lesser books or some abridgment of these they would have been altogether as useful for the Indians and the disbursements for the same far less.

The chances are that it was after the PRACTICE OF PIETY was completed that Johnson went to work in his own house with the type which he claimed as his own, on what appears to have been the first book privately printed in English America. Its title reads:

COMMUNION OF CHURCHES: or the Divine Management of Gospel-Churches by the Ordinance of Councils, Constituted in Order according to the Scriptures, etc. Written by John Eliot, Teacher at Roxbury in N. E. Cambridge: Printed by Marmaduke Johnson. 1665.

It is a small octavo of 40 pages, two and a half sheets. Eliot's preface may have been written after he had perused some of the tracts that appeared after copies of the *Antisynodalia Americana* circulated in New England:

Although a few copies of this small script are printed, yet it is not published, only committed privately to some godly and able hands to be viewed, corrected, amended, rejected, as it shall be found to hold weight in the sanctuary balance, or not. And it is the humble request of the Author, that whatever objections, rectifications or emendations may occurre, they may be conveyed unto him, who desireth nothing may be accepted in the Churches, but what is according to the will and minde of God, and tendeth to holiness, peace, and promotion of the holy kingdome of Jesus Christ. The procuring of half so many copies written and corrected, would be more difficult and chargeable than the printing of these few. I beg the prayers as well as the pains of the precious Servants of the Lord, that I may never have the least finger in doing anything that may be derogatory to the holiness and honor of Jesus Christ and his churches. And to this I subscribe myself one of the least of the labourers in the Lord's vineyard.

John Eliot.

The only publication of 1666 on which Johnson's name appeared was a work that may have given Eliot more trouble than any of his translations. It was undertaken at the suggestion of Governor Boyle, which Eliot correctly interpreted as a command. He may or may not also have suspected, as a critical reader of the correspondence is apt to think, that Boyle had been moved to ask for proof of the Apostle's command of the medium into which he was transmitting Christian doctrine, by doubts inspired by the persistent lack of enthusiasm on the part of many who knew the New England natives at first hand. It may or may not be significant that this publication marked the end of the series of translations which had been started eleven years before. There is no record that the Commissioners paid for the printing of it, which might mean that Boyle sent the money direct to Eliot, circumventing any further expression of opinions from his other Boston correspondents. The suggestion was broached in a letter which has not survived but is referred to in Eliot's letter to the Commissioners dated August 25, 1664:

Moreover they [the Corporation] are pleased to put me upon a Grammar of this language, wch my sonnes and I have oft spoken of, but now I must (if the Lord give life and Strength) be doeing about it. But we are not able to doe much in it, because we know not the latitude and corners of the language; some general and useful collecions, I hope the Lord will enable us to produce. And for these reasons my request is, that you would please to continue my interpreters salary, wch is ten pound more added to wt I was bold to make mention of afore.

On the following day, August 26, Eliot dated a letter to Boyle:

You are pleased to intimate unto me a memorandum of your desires, that there may be a grammar of our Indian language composed, for publick and after use, which motion, as I doubt not but it springeth from your self, so my answer unto yourself about it will be most proper. I and my sons (John and Joseph) have often spoken about it. But now I take your intimation as a command to set about it. When I have finished the translation of the Practice of Piety, my purpose is, if the Lord will, and that I do live, to set upon some essay and beginning of reducing this language into rule; which, in the most common and useful points, I do see, is reducible; though there be corners and anomalities full of difficulty to be reduced under any stated rule, as yourself know, better than I, in all languages. I have not so much either insight or judgment, as to dare to undertake anything worthy the name of a grammar; only some preparatory collections, that way tending, which may be of no small use unto such as may be studious to learn this language, I desire, if God

will, to take some pains in. But this is a work for the morrow; today my work is translation, which, by the Lords help, I desire to attend unto.

The text of the Grammar occupies 66 pages, with the title and a fulsome dedicatory Epistle to Boyle on the first of the nine sheets. The title reads:

THE INDIAN GRAMMAR BEGUN; or, An Essay to bring the Indian Language into Rules, For the Help of such as desire to Learn the same, for the furtherance of the Gospel among them. Cambridge: Printed by Marmaduke Johnson. 1666.

Eliot declared at the end of the Grammar that he had completed the program which he had laid out for himself:

I have now finished what I shall do at present: And in a word or two to satisfie the prudent Enquirer how I found out these new wayes of Grammar, which no other Learned Language (so farre as I know) useth; I thus inform him: God first put into my heart a compassion over their poor Soules, and a desire to teach them to know Christ, and to bring them into his Kingdome. Then presently I found out (by Gods wise providence) a pregnant witted young man, who had been a Servant in an English house, who pretty well understood our Language, better than he could speak it, and well understood his own Language, and hath a clear pronounciation; Him I made my Interpreter. By his help I translated the Commandments, the Lords Prayer, and many Texts of Scripture: also I compiled both Exhortations and Prayers by his help. I diligently marked the difference of their Grammar from ours: When I found the way of them, I would pursue a Word, a Noun, a Verb, through all variations I could think of. And thus I came at it. We must not sit still, and hope for Miracles: Up, and be doing, and the Lord will be with thee. Prayer and Pains, through Faith in Christ Jesus, will do anything.

In 1667 the Commissioners paid for binding 450 INDIAN GRAMMARS at three shillings a hundred, 13s:06d., a price that would have paid for nothing more than stitching this nine-sheet quarto book, perhaps in a paper wrapper.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

The upper house of the General Court, the Governor and his Assistants, in May 1667 moved to modify the censorship regulations of two years before, the significant change being the omission of the limitation to the town of Cambridge:

It is Ordered by this Court & the authority thereof: that no printer within this jurisdiction shall presume to imprint any book or paper, for publike sale, unles the same be allowed under the hands of Mr Charles Chancy, Mr John Sherman pastour of Waterton, Mr Jonathan Michel pastor of Cambridge, Mr Tho. Shepard teacher of Charlestowne or any 2 of them; upon the penalty of forfeiture of all the impression: to be seized on by warrant from one or 2 magistrates & the fine of five pounds: to be payd by the printer for every offence being hereof legally convicted. The Magists have passed this with refference to the consent of their bretheren the deputies heereto.

21st of May 1667.

Edw: Rawson, Secretary

The Deputies consented not herto. Richard Waldern Speker.

The next move in what was clearly a persistent struggle behind the scenes between those who were determined to eliminate Johnson as a typographic rival and the inner official circle which protected him because they did not want to annoy his important English connections, was made at the meeting of the Commissioners in September of the same year. Eliot, who should have known that any suggestion made by him would be certain to evoke a negative response, made some sort of proposal which has not been preserved but which resulted in the following entry in the records:

In answer to Mr Eliots proposal to Mr Danforth. The font of letters brought last over by Mr Johnson for the Corporation is tendered to him in part of his salary, at the same price it cost in England which if accepted is to be charged in the next account. And in case Mr Eliot do not accept those letters on his account Mr Danforth is desired to receive those letters from Mr Johnson and secure them with the rest of the printing implements.

The cost of the type is entered in the Commissioners' accounts as £31:17s:8d. They had asked for this type "for our own printer" in September 1664. It had been purchased in London the following spring but was sent over consigned to Eliot who placed it in Johnson's hands, where it still was when the above memorandum was written. The rest of the implements belonging to the missionary society were in the Indian College where the Bible had been printed. Danforth, who was on good terms with Green, had been delegated to take charge of the property. The counter-proposal of the Commissioners very properly provided for keeping all the equipment for which they were responsible together. This meant taking the usable part of it away from Johnson, who had been doing work for Eliot personally, and placing it where Green could

get at it. Eliot now had no interest in owning the type, which was still in Johnson's possession when he died in 1674.

The Commissioners had acted under instructions from the Corporation, who directed that other economies be enforced, that all gratuities be stopped and the workers on regular salaries be urged to accept a reduction. The Fire of London had destroyed some of the property of the New England Company, and the tenants in the country took advantage of the confusion in the city to renew their effort to escape paying rent. These reasons did not appeal to the Apostle, who protested earnestly and successfully against giving up any of his own salary or any of the money for work carried on under his oversight. A letter from the Massachusetts Commissioners dated January 27, 1667/8 did not get on to the records and has not been found in the London archives of the Company, but in replying to it on June 4, 1668 Governor Boyle wrote:

Wee were bold in our former Letter to recommend the care of this good worke to you for a yeare without furnishing you from hence wherewithall to carry it on; only expressing our desyres that nothing might bee wanting that should bee judg'd necessary to continue ye very Being of it. And we also then acquainted you with our low condition as that which reduced us so to proceede. And thogh since that time it is not yet much bettered, only that we are something recovered out of debt, yet we shall now adde, That wee hope befor your next to see ourselves so farre freed as well from our Debts as our Troublesome and chargeable suites so as that if the Land wee Live in & our remaining Revenue comes to settlement; there will be no Interruption to hinder a competent supply, for their Incourrigment that labour for this worke of the Lord.

But in the meane tyme we must continue our Desires which we presume you will thinke but necessary and reasonable, to abate all charge that is not essentiall to the being of this good worke; as printing & Binding of bookes, and Salaries to Governours [i.e., Indian chiefs] & Gratuities to those that doe not Actually Contribute to the worke; hoping that they that doe Labour, will for a time be willing to abate of their former stipends & not account it greavous which ye Providence of God makes necessary for the promoting of Christ's interest especially since this is desir'd or intended but for a time. As it is our great Joy to heare of the Inlargment of Christ's Interest in the turning of many from the power of Sathan to himself; so it would be matter of grieve if meanes should be wanting to so gloryous an end; which wee hope your Zeale for his Glory will prevent, to whose Grace both your & our Indeavors are humbly & heartily recommended.

Governor Boyle had another anxiety which gives added point to his solicitude for the zeal of the Boston Commissioners. The London mer-

chants, when their English investments began giving trouble, transferred a considerable sum of their capital to the care of the New England representatives. Many Londoners had found colonial speculations profitable, and it was expected that these charitable funds could be placed so as to benefit the missionary work. The money was put out on highly advantageous terms, beyond what was offered by the conservative merchants with whom the Commissioners would have preferred to deal, with the not-unheard-of result that within three years neither interest nor principal could be recovered from the Boston borrowers.

In April 1668 Johnson was encouraged to reopen the question of his removal to the larger metropolis across the tidal estuary from Cambridge, in a petition:

To the Honable the Governr, the Deputy Governr, and the rest of the Honored Magistrats & Deputies of the Massachusetts Collony assembled in the Generall Court at Boston, 29th 2mo. 1668.

The Humble Petition of Marmaduke Johnson of Cambridge, printer. Sheweth

That yor petitioner by the good hand & providence of God returning from England in the year 1665 with his printing press & letters, and finding no law of the country, nor order of any Court to prohibit ye exercise of his calling in any town, or place convenient within this jurisdiction, did apply himself (according to the custome of strangers) to the select men of the Town of Boston, for their admittance of him into that town to inhabit; in which juncture of time, yor petitioner was informed that an order had passed this Honred Court, prohibiting the exercise of printing in any town within this jurisdiction, save only at Cambridge. Whereupon yor petitioner did yield ready obedience thereunto, and took Cambridge for his place of abode, where he hath ever since continued. Now may it please this Honred Court, yor petitioner finding to his great loss & detriment the inconveniency of living in a town where no trade, or very little is managed, especially in that which is appertaining to, or tends to the promotion of his calling, as yor petitioner is ready more fully to demonstrate if called thereunto, and being desirous by all lawful ways & means to make himself, and his art as useful and advantagious to this Commonwealth as possibly he may, by Gods blessing on his endeavrs: and humbly conceiving that there is not the like restraint, and confinement of any other art or science:

Doth therefore in all humility pray & beseech this honred Court, that you would be pleased to take the premises into yor grave & serious considerations, that so (if in yor wisdomes you shall see meet) the practitioners of the art of printing may have liberty to sit down in such convenient place within this jurisdiction, as they shall finde most commodious for them;

Submitting at all times to such laws & orders as are, or shall be made concerning the premises, by the authority of this Commonwealth.

And yor petitioner (as in duty bound) shall ever pray, &c.

BUSINESS RIVALRY

The determination to preserve the monopoly which the College Press had enjoyed for thirty years became more insistent as it came to be realized that the character of the population was changing. There were more people who wanted to buy books, and shipments from London dealers no longer sufficed to meet their needs. There was a growing local demand which it would be profitable to supply. Theological arguments in the Boston suburbs had begun to run in different channels from English currents, and in the town itself buyers were asking for other kinds of books. Hitherto not a single title is found among those that are known to have come from that Press which appealed to secular interests. With the debatable exceptions of the New England translation of the Psalms and the ubiquitous almanacs, there is not a publication with the Cambridge imprint which can be shown to have been commercially profitable. Treatises were written in New England for which a market success could be foretold but these regularly appeared from a London shop. The good people among the laity and some of the clergy thought and talked of many things beside religion, as their diaries show. Hezekiah Usher supplied his customers with a wide variety of reading matter, some of which is still to be found in the family libraries or listed in the inventories of that century. Others of a less commendable content could unquestionably have been obtained by the unregenerate who knew where to go for them along the waterfront.

Thomas Johnson, with his letter of brotherly admonition written in April 1663 sent to Marmaduke *The Young Clerk's Guide* and *A Banquet of Jestes*, as suggestions for American reprints. It was five years later before the situation developed to the stage where the printers decided to cater to a wider market than previously. Marmaduke Johnson forthwith made the most of the opportunity to demonstrate his temperamental lack of judgment. And as had happened before, the Governor's Councillors did what they could to protect him. When they were notified in September 1668 that Johnson had disregarded the regulation which required that nothing should be printed unless it had the approval of the board of licensers, the Council did not proceed directly to investigate

the charges against him. Instead they issued identical summonses calling upon both printers to appear before them:

To Marshall Edward Michelson

You are hereby required in his Majtys name forthwith to Summon & Require Marmaduke Johnson Printer to make his personall appearance before the Council sitting at Boston on 3d Instant at nine of ye clock in the morning to give an account of what bookes have lately been printed at Cambridg by whom & by what Authoritye:

hereof you are not to faile Dated in Boston, 2d September 1668.

By ye Council Edw: Rawson Secretary

The minutes of the subsequent proceedings are in the state archives:

Att a Councill held at Boston 3 Sept 68.

The warrants were read yt were sent for for Samuell Grene Printer &c.

Being askt what bookes he had printed for whom & by wt Authority he Ansr'd a Drop of Honey he printed for himself; 2 ye Rule of ye new Creature: 3 ye way to a blessed Estate in this life. 4 The Assembly of Divines Catechise. 5 a narration of ye plague & fier at London. 6 Tidings from Rome the grand Trappan. 7 yt he had licenc for them all from: ye President & Mr Michelle & ye young mans monitor:

Marmaduke John', wt books

Ansr'd, he printed the primer: & and ye psalter: 2. Meditations on death & eternity. 3. (4 ye Rise spring &c of ye Annabaptists 5. Isle of Pines: he hath ye Righteous mans evidence for heaven, by Mr Rogrs he had licenc for all by Mr. President & Mr Chancey but ye Isle of Pines

Johnson, or the person who jotted down the above minutes of the hearing, may have become flustered during the examination, for the president was Mr. Chauncy.

The thirteen titles cover a period of at least eight months, for the Harvard Library possessed a precious volume made up for binding two centuries ago by a clergyman of bookish instincts at New London, Connecticut, and piously preserved by his direct descendants until entrusted by them to Harvard for preservation. This volume contained one of the two recorded copies of Cambridge editions of a tract by Thomas Vincent, this one having the title:

GOD'S TERRIBLE VOICE IN THE CITY OF LONDON: Wherein you have the Narration of the Two late Dreadful Judgements of Plague and Fire Inflicted by the Lord upon that City; . . . By T. V. Cambridge. Printed by Samuel Green. 1667.

On the last page of this copy is inscribed "William Adams His Booke. Cambridge; bought of Samuel Green February 29 1667," the date reminding that it would be 1668, a leap year, by modern reckoning. The tract was a reprint of a contemporary bookseller's venture which ran through several editions in England. The New England Cambridge edition perplexed bibliographers after the Green-Johnson lists were printed in 1897 because the only copy of an American edition of this 31-page booklet which could then be located, at the American Antiquarian Society, has the imprint on otherwise the same title, "Printed by Marmaduke Johnson, 1668." The mystery was only partially solved when a descendant of Mr. Adams gave Harvard the "Green, 1667" copy. A possible explanation may be that Johnson, unchastened, reprinted it a few weeks after the Governor's Council questioned him in September. If he did this in the early autumn, it may have been the occasion for further complaints by Green:

To the honoured Council sitting att Boston

The humble request of Samuel Green, printer to the Colledge att Cambridg:

Humbly intreateth that whereas there was an order made by the honoured Generall Court concerning printing: that there should be no printing, but att Cambridg; and that what was printed there should be approved by those four Gentlemen appointed by the Court then, or any two of them, yor Worships would please to explaine whether it is required those Gentlemen that allow of the printing of what is presented, should sett to their hands as Imprimators to it; as also when they express there shall be no printing but att Cambridg, whether they intend that any one may sett up printing, provided it be in that town, or any part of it; or whether they intend that the printing be onely under the inspection of the Colledge there; if there be libertie for any to sett up printing in the limitts of that town that they would please to make such orders concerning it, that one may not wrong another by printing anothers copie when he hath been att charge about it, as it is in other places where severall printing houses are; for some of us do find a need of such things already although there is but worke little inough for one printing house, to the great discouragement of yor poor servt in the place whereto he hath been called and hitherto to his poor abillitie hath endeavoured to be faithful in it, according to what hath been required.

Cambr. Octob; 14:

And yor Servt shall ever pray:

The narration of the Plague and Fire of London is not the only title mentioned during the forenoon of September 3 which leads to bibliographical perplexities. The American Antiquarian Society also possesses a small octavo tract of 2½ sheets, 40 pages, with a title reading:

PRECEPTS FOR CHRISTIAN PRACTICE: or, The Rule of the New Creature: Containing Duties to be daily observed by every believer. Cambridge: Pri

The border of acorn and fleur-de-lis ornaments surrounding this mutilated title page is identical with others on many Cambridge books. There can be no doubt that it is number 2 on Green's list. At that time there was a perverse but widespread habit of citing books and plays by their secondary titles instead of by the opening words. This acceptance of the single recorded copy of one of the listed titles has a bearing on a more uncertain problem that concerns a prized possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society as well as of two private collections. These three are copies of another outcome of the London holocaust:

Tydings from Rome: or Englands Alarm. Wherein several Grounds to suspect the *Prevelancy* of the *Popish Interest* are seasonably suggested; *Londons Ruine* pathetically lamented; Arguments to dissuade from the *Popish Religion*, are urged; And Distraction, perswaded. *Nostrī adversarij* . . . *Brentius in Praefat: de Cana.* Psal. 119,,, Cant.2 . . . Psal. 137 . . . Printed in the Year 1668.

There is nothing in the above title or in the tract to suggest "The Grand Trappan" and the explanations that have been suggested create more doubts than they satisfy. The imprint is unusual but not completely unknown to Cambridge printing. The three copies are now in New England libraries and one of them can be traced to an old New England bookish owner, for it has on the title "Jo. Baily's Book. N E June 12.86." The Reverend John Baily was at that time pastor of the Watertown church, later going to the First Church in Boston. His copy of Eliot's INDIAN BIBLE is dated Jan. 1, 1687(8).

Two of the titles on Johnson's list survive. One of these shows that the Synodists continued their efforts to supply their supporters with argumentative ammunition. This is:

THE RISE, SPRING AND FOUNDATION OF THE ANABAPTISTS, or Rebaptised of our Time, Written in French by Guy de Brez. 1565, Minister of the Word, and Martyr. And Translated for the use of his Countrymen, by T. S. Cambridge: Printed, and to be Sold by Marmaduke Johnson. 1668.

This 8-sheet quarto tract, 58 pages of text, has two preliminary pages signed by the translator's initials but unfortunately not dated, so that it is not possible to be quite certain that they were written for this edition in the Charlestown study of the second Thomas Shepard. They illustrate, if by him, the extent to which the hard-pressed upholders of Congrega-

tional principles were confusing the uncontrollable Quakers and the relatively unobtrusive but prolific Antipaedobaptists with the outrageous Continental Anabaptists.

A blank space at the bottom of the last page of the Anabaptist tract was utilized for an advertisement which supplies further evidence that Johnson had now established himself in the good opinion of the respectable members of the community. It announced another of his titles, of which no copy has been located:

There is now in the Press, and will very shortly be extant, an excellent and useful Treatise entituled *The Righteous Man's Evidence for Heaven, &c.* By Mr. Timothy Rogers, Minister of the Gospel.

Even more significant of Johnson's connections in his adopted home is the other extant title on his list:

DAILY MEDITATIONS: Or, Quotidian Preparations for and Considerations of Death and Eternity Begun July 19, 1666. By Philip Pain: Who lately suffering Shipwrack, was drowned. Cambridge: Printed by Marmaduke Johnson. 1668.

This is a neat small octavo with 16 pages of verses preceded by a title and preliminary leaf. Each day's meditation occupies a page, dated consecutively from July 19 to August 3. The preliminary printed page is headed *The Porch* and is signed P. P., presumably one of the bereaved relatives who sponsored this privately printed memorial, which marks a notable cultural advance beyond the elegiac broadsides of that century. The typographic border of *The Porch* is reminiscent of that on the title of George Herbert's *The Temple*.

To live's a Gift, to dye's a Debt that we
Each of us owe unto Mortality.
What though the dead do ghastly look, and we
Like children frighted are ever but to be
Spectators of a dying man or woman?
Yet nothing's to be fear'd that is so common.

At the end is a two-page Postscript to the Reader, seven verses signed M.J., doubtless the printer.

Tis not to shew the Author's Wit, but Grace,
That these few Poems are expos'd to view;
In which thou may'st behold Youths flow'ry face
Set toward Sion, seeking things most true:

Contemning worldly Vain's, but prizing high
A place i'th'Mansions of Eternity.

. . . .

Let the Example of this Pilot young,
(So skill'd in Spiritual Sailing) thee inform
To steer thy Course through Baca's Vale, along
To this fair Haven (fear nor Winds nor Storm)
Till thou arrive with him, in Whom did dwell
Some good thing toward the God of Israel.

Philip Pain's relatives must have been good people to know, but Samuel Green was not likely on that account to let the Councillors overlook the remaining entry on Johnson's list with its damning admission that "he had license for all but ye Isle of Pines." There had been more reason than haste for neglecting the formality of asking permission from the ministerial licensers, for this very latest best seller from London was a quasi-erotic forerunner of the *Crusoe* type of fiction. The English edition, which is believed to have been the original of some thirty in various languages, was entered with the Company of Stationers in London on June 27, nine and a half weeks before Johnson, having already reprinted the 10-page booklet, appeared before the Council in Massachusetts. This allows time enough, but none to spare. In London a second edition went off so well that somebody produced "A New and Further Discovery" of the same island or a namesake which was printed by itself and again with the original narrative within the year 1668.

Under the circumstances the officials found no loophole for escape from a severe penalty for a flagrant and acknowledged disregard of the plain provision of the law, and they imposed a fine of five pounds. It is not certain that Johnson had to pay this. In the Massachusetts archives there is an unsigned draft of a petition, undated and without any notation or endorsement to show that it was actually presented or that any action was taken on it. It might represent action that was talked about and allowed to drop:

To the honorable Councill of the Commonwealth.

The humble Petition of Marmaduke Johnson of Cambridge, Printer.
Sheweth

That yor petitionr doth with all humility acknowledge his rashness & inadvertency in printing a late pamphlett (called, *The Isle of Pines*) without due order & licence first had & obtained; for which being summoned before this honorable Councill, upon his confession & conviction was fined in the sum

of five pounds to the Commonwealth. Now may it please this honoured Councill, yor petitioner having in that act no intent or design to contemn authority, or to vend or publish anything that might be displeasing thereto, (as may appear by his affixing his name to the said pamphlett) but only the hope of procuring something to himself thereby for his necessary subsistence; his calling in this country being very chargeable, his living thereon difficult, the gain thereby uncertain, & his losse by printing frequent; He therefore humbly prayes this honoured Councill (if it may seem good to yor wisdomes) that the said fine may be remitted unto him, & he discharged from the payment thereof.

And yor petr shall ever pray &c.

The lists submitted by Green and Johnson show that for the first time both printers were planning their work with a view to providing the book trade with what buyers wanted. This may have been in Johnson's mind when he started for America eight years before, but he came to a community which was not then ready to support such an undertaking. The opposition of his established rival prevented him from making a failure of an attempt to set up an independent shop before the community itself developed desires that demanded satisfaction. In 1668 both printers were producing reading matter in larger quantity and of wider variety than had before been printed in this part of the world.

There is little to choose between the offerings of the two in 1668. Both should have known the characteristics of the public to which they were now prepared to cater. Johnson's bolder, and stupid, readiness to supply the latest London success was offset by Green's two offerings of equally popular English tracts appealing to the interest of the moment, the rumors that followed the Fire. Green's *CATECHISM* and Johnson's *PRIMER* were rivals for the trade of school children. The noncommittal title of the Anabaptist tract could have been designed to catch purchasers belonging to either side of the controversies. The *YOUNG MAN'S MONITOR* would have been bought by elders for presentation to adolescents who were saving their own pennies in the thought of enjoying, with less satisfaction than had been anticipated, the meretricious *ISLE OF PINES*.

These lists also supply for the first time since 1652 a record of a half-year's actual output of the Press. They furnish a basis for estimating how far the surviving titles represent what the printers actually produced. To the thirteen titles in the two lists must be added eight others that can be placed between January and the end of August 1668. Of these twenty-one, three official broadsides and a possible broadside poem on the death of Jonathan Mitchell of the Cambridge pastorate on July 9 should be

disregarded as the most uncertain element in the course of business. Of the remaining seventeen that passed as reading matter, six or seven are known to exist, with the *GRAND TRAPPAN* as the doubtful title. This approximates forty percent, which is more than twice the usual proportion that has been estimated as having a chance of survival from the printed pieces produced during the five centuries of bookmaking with movable type.

¶ The secretary's rough memorandum of the proceedings before the Council on September 3, 1668, found in the state archives, was printed with associated documents by Dr. Samuel A. Green in the *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* for 1897.

¶ The Henry E. Huntington Library reproduced its unique copy of Pain's *DAILY MEDITATIONS* in 1935. The verses by M. J. are in G. E. Littlefield's *Early Massachusetts Press* of 1907 in facsimile from the second edition "Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1670" at the *Massachusetts Historical Society*; which was then the only copy known.

¶ The probable first edition of *The Isle of Pines* has the imprint "London, Printed by S. G. for Allen Banks and Charles Harper at the Flower-deluice near Cripplegate Church, 1668." A copy of this pamphlet once belonged to Bishop White Kennett, whose famous library of books of American interest was given by him to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the Church of England society organized half a century later than the non-conformist organization whose name it modified). This copy turned up in Sotheby's London auction rooms in July 1917, where it sold for 14 shillings. Shortly afterward it passed to a New York bookseller for \$55. It reappeared the next November 19 in a New York auction where \$400 was bid for it as a tribute to over three pages of misinformative comment on its "superlative interest as a hitherto unrecorded issue of one of the lost books of the Colonial Press at Cambridge in New England. Undoubtedly printed by Samuel Green the Elder at his press in the college buildings at Cambridge." The reasons for believing that the initials are those of Sarah Griffin, who printed other things like this for the two well-known London booksellers who licensed it, can be found in a volume containing a reprint of the tract as well as other information drawn from a study by Max Hippe of "Eine vor-De-foe'sche Englische Robinsonade" published in Eugen Kölbing's *Englische Studien*, concerning it and twenty-seven other editions dated within the next century, prepared by Worthington Chauncey Ford for the Boston Club of Odd Volumes in 1929.

CHAPTER XIII

COÖPERATION OR COLLABORATION

PUBLISHING ARRANGEMENTS

IN April 1668 Johnson was maneuvering to set himself up in business in Boston. In September he was fined for printing without a license. In October Samuel Green was asking for protection against his irrepressible rival. Five months later the almanac for the coming year was out, "Printed by S.G. and M.J." The initials or names of the two printers appear in each surviving Cambridge imprint, with a single exception, dated 1669, 1670, or 1671. There seems to be no way of finding out what brought the two rivals back into partnership but maybe it was the fact that Johnson had possession of new type when Green secured the contract to print the first sizable volume intended for sale to the public that the New England Press was asked to undertake. The type used in printing the volume gave so clear an impression that when the Boston Club of Odd Volumes issued a photo-zinc facsimile reprint of it in 1903, it was unusually readable throughout. The negotiations for the original publication began in the summer of 1668 and cannot have been settled until after the middle of October, when the printers were still at odds. The actual printing, which could have occupied them for from six to ten weeks, was finished in April. The title of this, the first serious historical work printed in English America, is:

NEW-ENGLANDS MEMORIAL: or, A brief Relation of the most Memorable and Remarkable Passages of the Providence of God, manifested to the Planters of New-England in America; With special Reference to the first Colony thereof, Called New-Plimouth. As also a Nomination of divers of the most Eminent Instruments deceased, both of Church and Common-wealth, improved in the first beginning and after-progress of sundry of the respective Jurisdictions in those Parts; in reference unto sundry Exemplary Passages of their Lives, and the time of their Death. Published for the Use and Benefit of present and future Generations, By Nathaniel Morton . . . Cambridge: Printed by S.G. and M.J. for John Usher of Boston. 1669.

John Usher's name replaces that of his father in this imprint for the first time. The withdrawal of the founder of the business from its man-

agement also marks the beginning of a decline of the Usher shop as the principal resort of book buyers in the town of Boston, due in part to the influx of rival tradesmen who specialized in books and stationery. The son's name occurs in the imprint on all the copies that have been examined and this raises a question concerning his relationship to its publication. The printing was ordered and paid for by the Plymouth Colony government and nothing has been found to show whether Usher settled with its treasurer for the copies which he had for sale or whether he arranged to pay the printers for a part of the edition. This uncertainty is not important in this instance, but it creates a doubt in regard to all the other publications which have the Usher name on the title. It does not alter the fact that printers elsewhere sometimes changed an imprint while a work was on the press in order to insert a bookseller's name on the copies he had ordered, but there can be no certainty that this was true of any of the copies of books that state that they were printed for Hezekiah or John Usher. Neither is it certain that Usher actually sponsored or paid for publications which say that they were printed for him.

Morton's MEMORIAL is mainly a condensation by the permanent secretary of the senior New England colony of the more valuable manuscript narrative left by his uncle, the long-time Governor William Bradford. Some of the added material has been considered in Chapter iv where extracts from its elegiacs can be found. Its appearance at this time may be a sign that the Plymouth officials had realized that the colony's days were numbered as a separate government. The publication was proposed two years before it appeared, for there is an entry in the *Plymouth Colony Records* on July 2, 1667 that:

It was concluded by this Court that a proposition shalbe made from the Court to the severall Townshipes of this Jurisdiction in reference to a Collection or Contribution to be made towards the defraying of the charge of the printing of the history of Gods dispensations towards N E: in Generall in special towards this Collonie.

Plans were taking shape a year later, for on June 3, 1668:

Att this Court, the summe of twenty pound in countrey pay was ordered to be improved by the Treasurer for and towards the printing of the booke intituled New Englands Memoriall; and it was likewise recommended to the severall townes of this jurisdiction by their deputies to make a free and vouldentary contribution in mony for and towards the procuring of paper for the printing of the said booke.

A month later the vote on July 7 was:

In reference unto the printing of the booke intituled New Englands Memoriall, the Court have ordered, that the Treasurer shall indent with the printer for the printing therof; and to improve that which is or shalbe contributed therunto with the summe of twenty pounds, ordered by the Court to that end, and the summe of five pound more if he shall see cause, the said twenty five pound to be out of the countreyes stocke; and to indent with Mr Green to print it, if hee will doe it as cheap as the other; and for the number of coppies, to doe as hee shall see cause.

Green did not let his rival underbid him, but when the Plymouth treasurer consulted Johnson, something could have been said about the advantages of new type and a clear impression, which might have led to conditions being imposed on Green when he was given the contract. However it happened, the competitors pooled their resources and began a three-year collaboration sometime in the winter of 1668 by joining forces on the Plymouth book. The text was far enough advanced to be announced on the last page of the ALMANACK for the coming year, which was also "Printed by S.G. and M.J."

Reader, in a few weeks will come forth to publick view, the History of New-England, Entituled New-Englands Memoriall or a Brief Relation of the most Remarkable Passages of the Providence of God manifested to the Planters of N. E. in America &c. By Nathaniel Morton.

This ALMANACK for 1669 prepared by Joseph Brown of the Harvard class of 1666 was one of two known interruptions to the work on Morton's book. On March 10 the colonial authorities called for a broadside address TO THE ELDERS AND MINISTERS warning them to be careful to catechize and see that the people were taught "to Reade the English tongue." By that date the text of the MEMORIALL must have been so nearly completed that the printed sheets could be shown for a private view to two Massachusetts clergymen who signed a recommendation which was placed in the volume facing the author's dedication to Governor Thomas Prince of Plymouth:

To the Reader.

It is much to be desired there might be extant *A Compleat History of the United Colonies of New-England*, that God may have the praise of his goodness to his People here, and that the present and future Generations may have the benefit thereof. This being not attainable for the present, nor suddenly to be

expected, it is very expedient, that (while sundry of the Eldest Planters are yet living) *Records* and *Memorials of Remarkable Providences* be preserved and published, that the true Originals of these Plantations may not be lost; that *New-England*, in all time to come, may remember the day of her smallest things; and that there may be a furniture of *Materials* for a true and full History in after-times.

For these and such-like Reasons we are willing to Recommend unto the Reader this present *Narrative* as a Useful Piece. The Author is an approved godly man, and one of the first Planters at *Plimouth*; the Work it self is Compiled with Modesty of Spirit, Simplicity of Style, and Truth of Matter, containing the *Annals of New-England* for the space of 47 years, with special reference to *Plimouth Colony*, . . . And yet (so farre as his Intelligence did reach) relating many Remarkable Passages in the several Colonies; and also making an honourable mention of divers of the most Eminent Servants of God that have been amongst us in several parts of the Country, after they had finished their course. We hope that the Labor of this good man will finde a general Acceptance amongst the People of God, and also be a means to provoke some or other in the rest of the Colonies (who have had the knowledge of things from the beginning) to Contribute their *Observations* and *Memorials* also; . . .

March 26. 1669

John Higginson
Thomas Thacher

The first sheet and a half contain the author's dedicatory and prefatory letters as well as the title and the above commendation, so that these must have been printed after March 26. The text fills 26 sheets, 208 quarto pages of around 250 words each, and the volume had to be bound before it was ready for circulation. Before the end of June a copy had been seen by someone who told Samuel Gorton of Warwick in Rhode Island what the author had to say about him, for on June 30 Gorton addressed a letter to Morton beginning:

I understand that you have lately put forth a Booke of records, whether of Church or State I know not, perticuler or universall, but this I know that I am unjustly inrouled because I was never free nor member incorporate in your body or any of your territories, Therefore I may not refraine to make a short returne only as it concernes myselfe.

Another Rhode Islander maintained amicable relations with the members of the Winthrop family whom he saw when they dropped in on him as they traveled between their homes in Boston and New London on the southern coast. This was Roger Williams, who had reason to be

watchful of what his neighbors said about him, and on August 19 of this same year he wrote to the second John Winthrop that

since I see you I read Mortons Memorials, & rejoic at ye encomiums upon yor father, & other precious worthies, though I be a reprobate, *contemptu vitior alga*.

The printing was paid for promptly, for on July 5, 1669:

The Court ordered, that the Treasurer, in the behalfe of the countrey, is to make good a barrell of marchantable beefe to Mr Green, the printer att Cambridge, which is to satisfy what is behind unpaid for, and towards the printing of the booke called New Englands Memoriall which barrell of beife is something more then is due by bargaine, but the Court is willing to allow it on consideration of his complaint of a hard bargaine about the printing of the booke aforesaid.

¶ The discoverable facts about the publication of Morton's MEMORIALL were assembled by Albert Matthews for a paper entitled "A Ghost Book" contributed to the *Transactions* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts for April 1912. This shows how the announcement by a London bookseller that he had copies of the MEMORIALL for sale resulted in persistent statements by bibliographers and others that the book had been printed at London.

UNSTABLE PARTNERS

The laws passed at the October 1668 session of the legislature, at which Samuel Green petitioned for a clarification of the censorship regulations, were printed after it adjourned, almost certainly by Green with the College type. Presumably this was before he came to terms with Johnson and the two started work on Morton's MEMORIALL. During the next three years other Session Laws and official broadsides appeared without an imprint but no doubt done by Green on his own account. It may be assumed that the annual Commencement programs likewise continued to be produced by Green's workmen. Two of John Eliot's minor Indian publications may have been done at about this time by Johnson alone.

About the time that the MEMORIALL was ready for the binder, work on another publication was started. It is inconceivable that Green would have had anything to do with it. If Johnson was responsible, this was a more amazing instance of bad judgment than anything else recorded against him. As in the other cases there was no accompanying fault of character, except weakness, and it did not affect the friendly helpfulness that continued to be shown him by influential citizens. The piece which

began to be printed was a New England edition of the work which for five hundred years has stood next to the Bible among writings that have helped readers seeking spiritual comfort and inspiration. It has been reprinted more often, in more languages, than any other book. The pages that were in type, before the Massachusetts legislators were told that this work was composed by a Romish prelate and therefore was tainted with the sins of the Scarlet Woman, were a third attempt to provide New Englanders with their own religious publication unspotted by controversial animosities.

Nothing is known about such a publication except what was entered in the records of the Massachusetts Deputies on May 19, 1669:

The Court being informed that there is now in the presse, reprinting, a booke tit' Imitacons of Christ, or to yt purpose, written by Thomas a Kempis, a Popish minister, wherein is conteyned some things that are less safe to be infused among the people of this place, doe commend it to the licensers of the press, the more full revisall thereof, & that in the meane time there be no further progresse in that worke.

One of the issues of this year that appeared after the two rivals settled down to the joint operation of their resources is important as the earliest surviving evidence that the Press had entered the field of news publication, freed from the trammels of religious interpretation which had annotated the accounts of the comet of 1665 and of the London Fire. The title of this 29-page pamphlet is doubtless to be credited to an English rather than an American newsmonger:

A TRUE AND EXACT RELATION OF THE LATE PRODIGIOUS EARTHQUAKE & ERUPTION OF MOUNT AETNA, OR, MONTE-GIBELLO; As it came, In a Letter written to His Majesty from Naples By the Right Honourable the Earl of Winchelsea, His Majesty's late Ambassador at Constantinople, who in his Return from thence, Visiting Catania . . . , was an eye-witness of that dreadful Spectacle. Together with a more particular Narrative of the same, as it is collected out of several Relations sent from Cataia. Published by Authority. Cambridge: Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1669.

A conscientious cataloguer, anticipating the era of the by-line, identified the Earl as Heneage Finch, and the title will be found in lists under that name.

The printing business had established itself by the year 1669 as a useful participant in the economic and intellectual life of New England. Theretofore there had not been work enough to support two establish-

ments. What there was ought to have made a living for the manager of the older one with his political connections, but there had not been enough to pay a profit to the owner, the College. Meanwhile the thirty-year-old type and other equipment, although there had been some later additions, was in need of extensive replacements for which neither the owner nor the manager had made any preparations. This became serious when a youthful and ambitious competitor set himself up in a neighboring shop with a stock of new type and up-to-date appurtenances. These considerations explain some of the statements in an epistle in academic Latin which was preserved in the archives of the New England Company. The portions which concern the present narrative read in translation:

. . . Whereas you sent to us a Press and Types as well as the other things pertaining to Printing, together with a skilful printer, so that the Holy Scriptures might be translated into the Indian tongue, and other Books of Instruction, clearly setting forth the true Teaching and Practice of Religion, might be printed in Indian, this, so far as might be, hath been most faithfully accomplished to the profit and advantage of the Indians. They assuredly have been printed with the Press and supplied to the necessity of the Indians. So we now wish you to know that there is no more need to issue any more books from the Press for the use of the Indians.

Now that our Types as well as the older Characters belonging to the College which we had before, have by long service become much worn, and unfit for use for printing, we make it our urgent entreaty to you and to your kindness that out of your liberality you would make a free gift to our College, viz. Types and Characters and the requisites of printing, as well as what you sent us for the first printing of the Scriptures, as what you further added to the former supply, through your Printer Johnson.

For we fear (alas!) that if the printing press fall to wreck or in any way fail us, and the Characters be taken away from us not only, to begin with, will America be without Printers and the Academy with its Scholars suffer damage in the progress of its Studies, and our very meetings with opportunity for taking Degrees be hindered, but also the Common weal and the Civil Laws passed for the general good, will, to the unspeakable, almost irreparable, loss of the Christian Religion and the Churchs of the whole Community of New England, utterly perish and come to destruction.

For it is not to be expected that the yearly revenues of the College, which hardly—nay, not so much as hardly—suffice to maintain the Academic body and its students, can avail to meet such great expenses as are of necessity required for the work of Printing.

Forgive, most worthy Sirs, our importunity and our need, if on this occasion we look for such and so great a benefit for letters, yea if we ask it for

letters from men most lettered and most liberal, on behalf of unlettered and unlearned Youth and of the Propagation of Religion to future ages.

With all devotion to you chiefly, most Noble President, and others in your most renowned Committee of Councils.

Charles Chauncey President of Harvard College,
27th October 1669. with the Fellows, and their common consent.

The hand was that of the College President but the voice is that of Samuel Green. It was a period of infrequent intercourse between the colony and the Mother Country, and the Latin epistle was not read at a meeting of the Corporation until the last day of March, when it was voted:

that this Comp: are contented to lend their printing presse & lres & implements to the Colledge in New England to be by them used upon necessarie occasions.

The letter that notified the Commissioners in Boston of the loan of the type was the first that they had heard of this proposal by the President of the College. On September 8, 1670 they replied:

We thank the Honorable Corporation for their kind respects to our poor Colledge in lending to them the printing utensils that belong to the Indian stock, although for our part we were ignorant of any motion of that kind.

At the same time the Commissioners notified the President of the action of the London Corporation, and this was the first he heard that the material was to be a loan rather than a gift. The records of a meeting of the College officials on September 27 contain the entry:

The Honorable Corporation for the Indians having ordered their printing press, letters and utensils to be delivered to the College the Treasurer is ordered forthwith to take order for the receiving thereof, and to dispose of the same for the College use and improvement.

When President Chauncy wrote to Governor Boyle in 1664 asking for a gift to the College, his hint that the Corporation might take the Press and its printer off his hands was ignored. The Londoners now turned the tables by ridding themselves of responsibility for the material which had served its purpose and for which they had no further use. They had failed to turn it into cash by getting Eliot to accept it in lieu of salary but were able now to make it appear as a benefaction to the College.

It remained for the treasurer to get possession of the newer type. The press and other utensils were in the Indian College building on their property, where Green was in control. When Johnson came back from

London in 1665 the Commissioners wrote that they "do not yet understand the gift of" the type because Johnson told them that "the whole font were not belonging to the Corporation by reason that the monies that he received of yourselves was not sufficient for the purchase thereof." This evidently means that when Johnson was in London he got what money he could from the members of the New England Company and then bought what he needed by adding money of his own or borrowed by himself. He arranged to have the type shipped to Eliot by explaining that the Commissioners would not meet until several months after his return to New England and that the type would be wanted for use during this interval. He omitted to add that the Massachusetts Commissioners regularly acted for their colleagues between meetings. Eliot left the type in Johnson's hands and by the time the Harvard treasurer applied for it, the chances are that neither the printer nor anybody else could have told what belonged to him or to the missionary society. However, as Johnson and Green were working together in 1670 under some sort of joint agreement, the question did not have great immediate importance. Toward the end of 1671 the two printers split up again and the College effort to secure possession of the type that had been loaned to it was renewed. A compromise was arrived at which was embodied in a verbal understanding with Johnson that had to be confirmed in writing two years later and was noted in the Harvard records on May 27, 1673:

. . . that for the space of three years he shall have the use of the font of the long primer letters; for which he is to pay thirty shillings in money per annum to the College Treasurer and deliver the President ten copies of every book he shall print.

¶ President Chauncy's Latin epistle was printed with an equally academic translation in the New England Company's *Some Correspondence between the Company in London and its Missionaries and others*, London 1896.

THE NEW ENGLAND PRIMER

Both John Eliot and the Commissioners found it difficult to make out what the Corporation expected of them during the years following 1668. There was no lack of evidence that the affairs of the New England Company were in bad shape. Tenants were not paying rents; strangers were encroaching on freehold properties that had been swept clear of buildings by the fire; lawsuits were threatened with the obvious hope that the Corporation would compromise to avoid attracting attention; and

the society had gone into debt to its members in order to continue the payments to its missionaries. Regularly the Londoners urged the Commissioners to cut down expenditures, but by the same mail they wrote to Eliot to keep up the good work, congratulating him on the successes which he never failed to report, exchanging with him joyous anticipations of the rewards which would be theirs in the hereafter. Just when the Corporation explained the well-nigh irreparable difficulties in their financial situation, they sent to Boston a special gift of £360 from a worthy French gentleman. Writing on April 28, 1669 Governor Boyle made some searching enquiries:

Doe with you rejoyce, yt life & immortalitie is brought to Light by the Gospell amongst a people unto whom Christ was not knowen. And how would our joy increase could we . . . understand whither any considerable number there are or like to be qualified for a future supply of this service. And we desire in yoor next yt you would be somewhat particular in this with us in this case.

This question was referred to Eliot, who replied on September 8 with a lengthy account of the flourishing missions, reporting that there were thirty or forty communicants at Natick, eight or ten at Pakeunit, and an undisclosed number at six other localities. The Commissioners' letter of the same date explained that the Boston merchants were no longer anxious to bid against each other for the use of the funds and that those who made the highest offers were not the best risk. The Corporation had specified the rate at which the French gentleman's money was to be let out and this had been obtained, but the report three years later was that there were faint hopes of recovering either interest or principal.

The Apostle to the Indians was also in a chastened mood. The Lady Armine was now an old woman, content to await Heaven with a lifetime's record of good deeds long since accomplished in support of every pious Puritanical cause. She was Mary Talbot, daughter of an Earl of Shrewsbury and the twice-widowed consort of great London fortunes, the distribution of which had been her chief occupation throughout her life. For a quarter-century she had encouraged John Eliot with never failing generosity. But she was now laying aside such earthly satisfactions. When her remittances failed to arrive at Roxbury, Eliot had one more reason for realizing that his power over the Corporation was waning. In 1669 he dealt directly with the Commissioners, who reported at the end of that year's letter:

Although the honourable Corporacon for that work was pleased some time since to order the ceasing of any further Expences for printing on that behalfe, yet wee being informed by Mr Eliot & Mr Bourne that the instruction of the Indians is greatly obstructed by want of a small primer and Cattachisme in their Language which being prepared by Mr Eliot we have ordered the printing thereof, And do hope on ye Considerations premised it will not be displeasing to yor selves.

This letter did not find a conveyance until October 22, when the Massachusetts Commissioners added a postscript to say that Mr. Usher had decided that he could give seven percent for the use of their money. The Corporation read this letter at their meeting on January 27 and voted:

That this Court doe consent to the printinge of the Primer & Catechism in the native language which the Comrs by their sd lre signified they have ordered to be printed.

In the same letter the Corporation stated that they had sent over £447:07:00 during the year. The Commissioners, with this amount in hand, must have had some other reason than lack of funds to explain why, as turned out later, they did not pay Johnson the £10 which he charged for printing this primer. A single copy of it survives at the University of Edinburgh, inscribed "Gifted to the Library by Mr. Jo. Kirton, Aprile 19, 1675." It is a small 16mo, measuring about three by two inches. There are four half-sheets folded to give 64 leaves, and it was no doubt printed "work and turn" on the undivided full sheets. The title is obviously for home consumption:

THE INDIAN PRIMER; or, The way of training up our Indian Youth in the good knowledge of God, in the knowledge of the Scripture, and in an abilitie to Reade. Composed by J. E. 2 Tim. 3.14, 15. Cambridge, Printed. 1669.

The contents of this primer have a particular importance because there is a possibility verging on probability that it was closely modeled on the primer which was then already in use by other New England children. The book that had been used at first in teaching the children of the settlers had been imported and was undoubtedly the same as the one used in the dames schools which were patronized by the Puritan families in England. Within a generation the demand reached a point where the London booksellers who supplied the colonial market had a special edition printed with a title and contents adapted to the American trade. This was with little doubt the PRIMER that Johnson stated he had printed before September 1668. The INDIAN PRIMER of the next year proves that it

already possessed all of the essential characteristics of the *New England Primer* which continued to reappear uninterruptedly in numberless editions until the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The INDIAN PRIMER of 1669 has the outside of the first and last leaves blank, obviating the need of a cover wrapper. The inner page of each of these leaves has only a cut of the Royal arms. The title leaf has on its reverse a five-line verse from Prov. 22.6. The third leaf contains the upper and lower case alphabets, the five vowels and nine diphthongs, with spelling lessons of one-syllable words beginning on the reverse and longer words continuing in numerical order on the next two pages. The reading lessons follow a paragraph which gives the course of instruction for the native schools. This begins, in J. Hammond Trumbull's translation, "Wise doing to read Catechism. First read Primer. Next, read Repentance Calling [i.e. Baxter's CALL] Then read Bible."

The Lord's Prayer is on the sixth leaf, in English on one side and in Indian on the reverse, with an exposition in questions and answers on the facing page. "The Degrees of Christian Duties for Several Estates collected out of the Holy Scriptures" fill 24 pages. The Large Catechism in six chapters occupies 68 pages, and the small catechism four. "The Numeral Letters and Figures, which serve for the ready finding of any Chapter, Psalm or Verse in the Bible, or elsewhere" take six pages, in roman and arabic with the names in English. The Primer ends with "The Names and Order of the Books of the Old and New Testament" in English.

¶ A type-facsimile of the 1669 INDIAN PRIMER prepared by the Edinburgh librarian, Dr. John Small, was printed in 1877; reissued in 1880 with a new title and the insertion of a facsimile of an Indian broadside which had been found after the first publication. The above description of the contents is condensed from that made by Wilberforce Eames for Pilling's *Bibliography of Algonquian Languages*, Washington 1891.

¶ The name of the worthy French gentleman who contributed to the American missions gave Governor Boyle (or the subsequent transcribers of Boyle's handwriting) some trouble, for in the printed copies the name appears as Montrye and Moutche, the *n* and *u* doubtless being the same letter in the manuscript drafts of the official communications.

ELECTION SERMONS

The political complexion of Massachusetts was changing as the third quarter of the seventeenth century approached its end. Expanding com-

mercial ventures brought wealth to the seacoast towns; the possession of farming lands was no longer the easiest way to economic independence and social recognition. The clergy had lost their position of dominant authority in the villages as well as the cities. But there were many in both town and country to whom the older way of life looked good when contrasted with what was taking its place. This feeling was reflected in

USEFUL INSTRUCTIONS FOR A PROFESSING PEOPLE in Times of great security and degeneracy: Delivered in several Sermons on Solemn Occasions: By Mr. Samuel Willard Pastor of the Church of Christ at Groton. Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green. 1673.

There was somebody employed at the College Press at this time who needed instruction. A guess may be hazarded to explain what happened to this publication. The work, as so often, started off on a generous scale and when the first of the selected sermons ended on page 19, the last leaf of the third fold, the reverse of the leaf was left blank and the second sermon started on page 21. This ended on page 43, but this time the text continued on the reverse and went without interruption to page 80. This would have caused no trouble if someone had not gone ahead to make up the forms, overlooking the first four pages of the second sermon. These had to be put on a half-sheet, marked with a small d, to be inserted in front of signature D of the regular series. Meanwhile the text had been made up to begin on page 5, leaving two pages after the title for the author's address to his parishioners. He had, however, asked the Cambridge brothers-in-law, Shepard and Oakes, to introduce him to the public, and their two preliminaries had to go on a single page each and each was set up with the signature mark A₂ at the bottom of the page, so that this appears on both sides of the second leaf. Perhaps the typesetter did not care to decide which of the two should be placed first.

It was during these transition years that the practice became established of printing the annual sermon delivered upon the invitation of the General Court on the day in May when it met for the first time in that year to choose the magistrates and other elective officials. The first of these sermons had been preached in 1634 and it set a model frequently honored by imitation. John Cotton was asked to address the electorate by the supporters of Governor Winthrop, to urge his continuance in office, unsuccessfully. In 1637 the colony was in an upheaval over the antinomian differences, and Thomas Shepard was called upon to bring the factions together, with the result as reported by Winthrop that "few

could see where the difference was." Discord continued between the well-to-do minority which was represented in the Governor's Council, and the plebeian commonalty which made up the majority of the Deputies. This led the two bodies to vote separately after 1644, when Richard Mather exhorted them. The printer was given permission to print Mather's sermon but there is no evidence that he did so. The next year the two bodies wrangled over the appointment of the preacher and settled their quarrel by agreeing that each should make the choice in alternate years. In 1649 Thomas Cobbett preached for the Deputies, who directed their Speaker to "declare to him that it is their desire he would print it heere or elseuere." He is not known to have complied.

Norton's sermon on the election day in 1661 is one of the **THREE CHOICE AND PROFITABLE SERMONS** printed for Usher in 1664 and described in Chapter XIII, where will also be found an account of Higginson's sermon which was printed soon after it was delivered in 1663.

New Plymouth Colony was the elder sister of the Massachusetts colony but its decreasing relative consequence developed an inferiority complex which may have had something to do with its going to the expense of printing Morton's **MEMORIAL** in 1669. Having made the acquaintance of the craft, the Plymouth legislators decided at their next session on October 26 of that year to print the election sermon delivered the previous June by Thomas Walley of Barnstable. The arrangements were made expeditiously, for on December 8 the Court recorded that it had received "the approbation alsoe of Mr Chauncye and Mr Shepard, who alsoe aded the imprimature thereunto as it is now extant" i.e. as required by the current Massachusetts censorship regulations. It appeared with the title:

BALM IN GILEAD TO HEAL SION'S WOUNDS: or, A Treatise wherein there is a clear Discovery of the most Prevailing Sickneses of New-England, both in the Civill and Ecclesiasticall State; as also sutable Remedies for the Cure of them: . . . Cambridge: Printed by S.G. and M.J. 1669.

Six of the eleven known copies of this are dated 1669 while the others, which appear to be from the same type, have the date of the imprint changed to 1670. There is a very slight but unmistakable alteration in the spacing of the border around the title, which might mean that the type was lifted so that the border could be used on another job between the two impressions of the Walley sermon. It may mean no more than that the type of the title page was carelessly tied up after the first impression.

When it went to press the second time the printer inserted in the empty space below the text on the last page an advertisement:

There is now going to the Press sundry excellent and divine Poems, entituled Meat out of the Eater, or, Meditations concerning the Necessity, End, and Usefulness of Afflictions unto Gods Children, All tending to prepare them for, and comfort them under the Cross. By Michael Wigglesworth.

Wigglesworth, whose chronic ailments prepared him to speak with authority on the usefulness of afflictions, recorded the completion of these poems in October 1669. It was over six months later before they were ready for publication with the imprint "Printed by S.G. and M.J. for John Usher of Boston. 1670."

It was not in human nature for the clergymen of Massachusetts to suffer the minister of a remote village on Cape Cod to receive an honor that had not been accorded to those who had addressed the legislators assembled in the metropolis. There was an awkward complication at this moment, for the preacher of the sermon at Boston on May 19, 1669 was John Davenport, who had been installed as Minister of the First Church of Boston the previous December after "much tribulation." His call to Boston from New Haven had been in the nature of a reward for his championship of the Antisynod cause and it resulted in the withdrawal of the defeated partisans of the Half-Way Covenant from the First Church to form the Third or (now Old) South Church.

Not a shred of evidence has been seen concerning what transpired with regard to the printing of Davenport's election sermon. It exists at the Boston Public Library with an obviously English title and text and the imprint "Printed in the Year, 1670." Cotton Mather mentioned it in the *Magnalia* with the notation "afterwards Published." Thereafter it disappeared from any knowledge by those interested in such things. A copy came, nobody now knows how, into the library of the Pennsylvania historian Robert Proud, who died in 1797, which was sold at Philadelphia in 1903. This is the copy now in Boston, and the only one heard of. It would be interesting to learn whether other occasional sermons by Davenport were sent to the Cambridge Press before or after the date when his election sermon was sent overseas. These others were printed as:

GODS CALL TO HIS PEOPLE TO TURN UNTO HIM; Together with His Promise to Turn unto them. Opened and Applied in II. Sermons, At two Publick Fasting-Dayes appointed by Authority . . . Published at the desire of sundry Friends. Cambridge: Printed by S.G. and M.J. for John Usher of Boston. MDCLXIX.

The other six election sermons preached since 1666 were printed at Cambridge during the years 1670 to 1673. The General Court, whose members gave solicitous attention to the theological and controversial leanings of the preachers before deciding on the individual to whom the honor of an invitation was to be extended, made no provision for paying for printing his sermon and no honorarium followed its delivery. The first of these six attracted favorable notice when it was delivered in 1668 and the Governor in thanking the preacher requested him to prepare it for the press. He was, however, "well-nigh invincibly unwilling it should ever have come forth" until "a Person of Worth" paid for the printing in 1670. This person should have felt well repaid, for it is the only Massachusetts election sermon of this period that went to a second edition:

NEW-ENGLANDS TRUE INTEREST NOT TO LIE: or, A Treatise declaring from the Word of Truth the Terms on which we stand, and the Tenure by which we hold our hitherto-continued Precious and Pleasant Things. Shewing what the blessed God expecteth from his People, and what they may rationally look for from him. Delivered in a Sermon Preached in Boston in New-England, April 29. 1668. being the Day of Election there. By Mr. W. Stoughton, Preacher of the Gospel in Dorchester. Cambridge: Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1670.

There were two impressions, and each presents a variation which would, but for the other, establish it as the earlier. The one that has a very slight precedent advantage has on its last page two errata, both of which are corrected in the other. It is also the less creditable as a piece of bookmaking. It has an Advertisement to the Reader signed J. S., in smaller type on the third page. The text begins on page 4, the reverse of the second leaf, in a normal type for such a publication, continuing without evidence of condensation to page 38, the reverse of next to the last leaf of the fifth fold, E₃. The last two pages, 39 and 40, are in much smaller type, with 48 and 46 lines of text and two lines of Errata at the end. Ordinarily such a condensation of the text in order to avoid extra presswork and to save paper is evidence of a reprinting. If this 40-page issue is the first, the likeliest explanation is that the wealthy author or his well-to-do friend who sponsored the publication did not like the looks of it when it reached him and expressed a disapproval which resulted in a more workmanlike job.

The other impression seems to have been from the identical type of the title and the first thirty-five pages of the text as the other, where

they are numbered 4 to 38. The prefatory Advertisement was reset in the type of the text and with a deeper headpiece of larger flowers, so that fifteen lines are on the reverse of the second leaf. The sermon begins on the recto of the third leaf as page 1, and the type pages of the other issue, with altered page numbers, are used to page 35, which was the other's page 38. The last two pages, 39 and 40, were reset in the type of the rest of the text, making pages 36, 37, 38. This required an additional half-sheet, F₂, and a passage from Isaiah 51.7, 8 was displayed in larger type on the middle of the page facing the end of the sermon. Thus the 38-page edition is on 22 leaves and the one with 40 pages is on 20 leaves.

Stoughton's sermon was drawn upon by subsequent election-day preachers frequently, and one sentence became a New England classic:

As to New-Englands first wayes . . . God sifted a whole Nation that he might send choice Grain over into this Wilderness. Oh New-England, Thy God did expect better things from thee and thy Children; not Worldliness, and an insatiable desire after perishing things; not Whoredomes and Fornications; not Revellings and Drunkenness; not Oaths and False-Swearings; not Exactions and Oppressions; not Slandering and Backbitings; not Rudeness and Incivility; a degeneracy from the good manners of the Christian World; not Formality and Profaneness; . . . to grow Sermon-proof, and Ordinance-proof; not Contentions and Disorders; not an Itching after new things and wayes; not a rigid Pharisaical Spirit; not a Contempt of Superiors; not Unthankfulness and disrespect to Instruments of choice service; not a growing weary of Government, and a drawing loose in the Yoke of God: better things, O New-England, hath thy God expected of thee.

Another passage reveals a characteristic New England aptitude already well rooted:

Consider and remember alwayes, that the Books that shall be opened at the last day will contain Genealogies in them. There will then be brought forth a Register of the Genealogies of New-Englands sons and daughters. How shall we many of us hold up our faces then, when there shall be a solemn rehearsal of our descent as well as of our degeneracies. To have it published whose Child thou art will be a cutting into thy soul, as well as to have the Crimes reckoned up that thou art guilty of.

Jonathan Mitchell, although he was the printers' pastor, died before the appearance of:

NEHEMIAH ON THE WALL IN TROUBLESOM TIMES; Or, A Serious and Seasonable Improvement of that great Example of Magistratical Piety and Prudence, Self-denial and Tenderness, Fearlessness and Fidelity, unto Instruction

and Encouragement of present and succeeding Rulers in our Israel. As it was delivered . . . May 15, 1667 . . . Cambridge: Printed by S.G. and M.J. 1671.

A preliminary page signed J. S. introduces the 34-page sermon on "That growing spirit of wantonness under, and weariness of Gods Rule in Commonwealth and Church."

In 1670 Samuel Danforth of Roxbury delivered:

A BRIEF RECOGNITION OF NEW-ENGLANDS ERRAND INTO THE WILDERNESS: made in the Audience of the General Assembly . . . the 11th of the third moneth 1670 . . . Cambridge: Printed by S.G. and M.J. 1671.

This 23-page sermon was introduced by four pages addressed to the Christian Reader by Thomas Shepard. There was no delay in getting out the sermon for 1673:

NEW-ENGLAND PLEADED WITH, And pressed 'to consider the things which concern her Peace at least in this her Day: Or a Seasonable and Serious Word of faithful Advice to the Churches and People of God (primarily those) in the Massachusetts Colony: musingly to Ponder and bethink themselves, what is the Tendency, and will certainly be the sad issue of sundry unchristian and crooked wayes which too too many have been turning aside unto, if persisted and gone on in. Delivered in a Sermon . . . May 7. 1673. Cambridge Printed by Samuel Green. 1673.

This was by Urian Oakes of the Cambridge church, never one to restrain his outpourings, and it required 9 sheets, A-I, 64 quarto pages, with two preliminary leaves contributed by John Sherman and Thomas Shepard. Its publication may have caused somebody to comment on the fact that the preachers of the two preceding elections had not enjoyed a similar honor. This invites speculation because on May 15 of the year before, the day on which Shepard delivered the sermon, he and Oxenbridge, the preacher of 1671, had been added to the board of licensers for the Press to take the place vacated by President Chauncy's death.

¶ An exhaustive study of the Massachusetts election sermons by Lindsay Swift in the *Transactions* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts for 1894 has been drawn upon largely for this chapter. He supplemented it after the acquisition of Davenport's sermon of 1669-70 in the same *Transactions* for 1904, which contains a facsimile reprint of this sermon.

¶ The possession of a unique copy of the first edition of Wigglesworth's MEAT OUT OF THE EATER was made known by the *Yale University Library Gazette* for January 1931.

AN OUTSIDER'S OPINIONS

Oxenbridge's 1671 election sermon is known from three printed copies, making it second in later-day scarcity to that of Davenport, whom he followed in the pulpit of Boston's First Church. No copy of it found a place in the important collections which have made their way into the Boston Public Library, with the regrettable result that Lindsay Swift gave it only a passing mention in his study of these election sermons. It is, as befitted the author's position in the New England hierarchy, one of the most forthright expressions of opinion in the whole long series. The preacher said his say, feeling that he could do no otherwise, but he had been invited to officiate on a public occasion, and when some of his hearers took exception to his remarks he hesitated about complying with the routine invitation to print them. After reflection he did so, but it may be that his doubts persisted for this sermon does not match any of the others in any outward aspect. It is a small octavo of only 48 pages preceded by a title and four pages of straightforward, clearly stated explanation unequaled by any of his ecclesiastical contemporaries. There is no name in the imprint and it is so badly printed that it cannot be credited to Johnson and it is as difficult to believe that it could have come from Green's shop. It must have gone to press without having had the proof read, for the author or somebody found occasion to correct by hand sixteen words apparently misread from the manuscript, without bothering with such minor "literals" as that "God appointed a power awong men for revenge of Murder." It could have been the work of someone who knew next to nothing about bookmaking, for the first sheet, which folds correctly, is signed after the title, A₂, A₄, A₈ (first page of text), followed by four leaves reading correctly. The other two and a half sheets are marked correctly, which adds to the uncertainty where the trouble came from.

When read, as when heard, this sermon both gained and lost from one thing that every contemporary must have taken into account, that the minister of the First Church was not a native New Englander, although he spoke for a congregation in which the third generation was coming to predominate. He was a late comer, by way of Bermuda, from England, which he had been forced to leave for the same reasons which had impelled the migration of forty years earlier. He wrote:

NEW-ENGLAND FREEMEN WARNED AND WARMED, TO BE FREE INDEED,
having an Eye to God in their Elections: In a Sermon Preached before the

Court of Election at Boston, on the last Day of May, 1671. By J. O. Pastour of the First Church in Boston. Published by Order of the General Court. Printed in the Year. 1673.

Christian Reader,

I was invited by the House of Deputies to Preach at the time and on the occasion mentioned in the Title page, and that work (though very mean) found that acceptance, that Captain Savage, the Speaker, with Captain Clark came in the name of the House to give me thanks: Since which the Deputies, with the concurrence of the Magistrates, ordered the printing of the poor piece; It was once in my thought to have prefaced an Explication of some particulars, which it seems did not sound well in the ears of two or three persons whom I honour; but my second thoughts did contradict, telling me my Order was only for the Printing of the Sermon, and that the explication and defence thereof (if a tincture of prejudice did remain) might as well be mistaken as the Sermon, and so occasion inconvenient alteration; . . . wherefore I forbear, being conscious to my self of no other scope or meaning then what will be agreeable to all faithful Patriots and true lovers of this Country.

As for you in N.E. to backslide and to fashion your selves to the flaunting mode of England in worship or walking, you undertake a vain thing, for you can but limp after them, & if you have a mind to turn your Churches into Parishes, and your Ministers into Priests, and Prelates, I cannot think the Lord will ever endure it . . .

The maintenance of so many Churches doth depend upon some wise Consideration of the gifts of men here and the commodities of the Land: therefore it is not enough only to take up that good which is obvious, but search for that which is not, and well were it as seems to me, if we had a standing Committee to relieve and weigh such propositions tending to the better subsisting of the people. I find in the fifth Liberty an allowance of a Monopoly on the producing a commodity now in the Land, and I perceive Magistrates and Ministers, and most of the Husbandmen, will finde the want of some stable Commodity, which may Command supplies from abroad, when Taxes and Tythes, and all kinds of vexation are upon you in your labours, and heavy burdens upon your Consciences, then you will cry and not be heard. Now therefore let all New Englands friends for their comfort, and Enemies for their disappointment know, that (bating some Exentricks) we are all generally agreed in the Principles of purity and power of the Churches, and the liberty and safety of this people against all that ly in wait against us, whether nearer or further off. . . .

What if some Brethren have departed from a particular Church, irregularly as some say, regularly say others? but why should this make any noise, heat and breach the Land? . . . neither can I understand why the question about Adult Children on the Church should make any estrangement, since all godly men have the same scope to fetch in to Christ the young Generation . . .

In contrast to the scarcity of copies of Oxenbridge's powerful sermon, eleven are recorded of that of President Oakes, mentioned above, and nine of that by his brother-in-law Shepard:

EYE-SALVE, OR A WATCH-WORD FROM OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST UNTO HIS CHURCHES: Especially those within the Colony . . . to take heed of Apostacy. By Thomas Shepard . . . Cambridge Printed by Samuel Green. 1673.

HOLIDAY OBSERVANCE

The election-day sermon for 1674 was preached on May 27, and on the same day the General Court thanked their preacher and in the same vote the author of the Artillery election sermon. The pertinent part of the vote was printed on the page facing the title of the Court sermon:

Ordered, that the Reverend Mr. Samuel Torrey be Thanked for the great and acceptable pains which he took in his late Election Sermon; and that he be desired to Print his said Sermon, with as much speed as may be.

The reason for haste is not apparent, but this was Johnson's last Cambridge imprint. He bought a house in Boston on July 18 of this year, and the July date "26.5.1674" appears at the end of Increase Mather's six-page prefatory commendation of the sermon, on the same sheet as the first pages of the text, so that it must have been written before the printing began. Johnson may have delayed moving to his new location across the Charles River until after this job was started, for if the work had been done in Boston there would have been no apparent reason for not announcing the fact in the first imprint from the metropolis of the colony.

The decision to place the vote desiring that the sermon be printed on the page facing the title was apparently made after Johnson was ready to go to press with the first sheet. This contains the title and four pages of Mather's "To the Reader." When the last two pages of the Preface had to be moved along to the second sheet in order to free the first two pages, he forgot or did not bother to change the signature marks on the other preliminary pages, so that the sermon collates: 1 leaf recto blank and vote on verso, title leaf, signatures A₂, A₃, B (with Mather's name and date on the verso), text B₂ to G₃; pages 1-44. Any doubts are settled by the watermarks which link the title and A₂, B₂ and B₃ in one copy and the first leaf and A₃ in another.

Green had lost his hold on the work of the General Court but he had some compensation in retaining that of the other two colonies that had done business with the Cambridge Press. For them he printed:

DAVID SERVING HIS GENERATION, or A Discourse Wherein is shewed that the great Care and Endeavour of every Christian ought to be, that he may be Serviceable unto God and to the present Generation. Delivered in a Sermon Preached to the General Court of the Colony of New-Plimouth in New-England on the 3d Day of June 1674. Being the Day of Election there. By Samuel Arnold Teacher of the Church of Christ at Marshfield in New England. Imprimatur John Oxenbridge. Increase Mather. Cambridge. Printed by Samuel Green. 1674.

One of the admonitions near the end of this 18-page sermon reveals something of life at Plymouth:

Look at Justice and Judgement . . . 5. Look to Attourneys, the stating of Attourneys that are approved for faithfulness, . . . but the suppressing of such as will for their own ends espouse any Case right or wrong, and by their wits put a fair Cloak upon a foul Case, and create needless suits, and be incendiaries in places, and maintain Contention that Contention may maintain them, such as care not who looses, so they may gain, I say, to suppress such will be of great use to the maintenance of Justice and Peace.

Characteristic of the abiding depth of religious conservatism in the Connecticut valley was the 20-page sermon titled:

AN HOLY CONNEXION Or a true Agreement Between Jehovahs being a Wall of Fire to his People, and the Glory in the midst thereof: Or a Word in Season to stir up to solemn Acknowledgement of the gracious Protection of God over his People; and especially to a Holy Care that the Presence of God may yet be continued with us. As it was delivered in a Sermon Preached at Hartford on Conecticut in N. E. May 14. 1674. being the Day of Election there: By Samuel Fitch Pastor of the Church of Christ in Norwich. Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green. 1674.

Green had printed its BOOK OF THE GENERAL LAWS for Connecticut in 1673 and about the time that Fitch's election sermon could have been in his hands he wrote to that colony's governor, John Winthrop junior, on July 8, 1674:

I hope there hath been some measure of satisfaction given by us as to yor worships and the rest of yor Colony in the printing of the Laws and delivering of them, that whereas we doe find something of a slownes, att least by some, in returning satisfaction to us for our labour and charges, wherein we owe out neer twenty pounds in money for paper for them, besides all other charges and labour. . . . if it please yor worship to influence those it may concern that there may be some course taken for sattisfaction according to agreement, and we shall take it as a great favour from yor worship.

Boston's Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company likewise had an anniversary sermon on the day of the annual election of its officers, and the propriety of honoring the preacher by printing his remarks was recognized in 1644, at the time when the printing of the sermon before the General Court was first broached. It was not until thirty years later that the series of these Artillery sermons began with that of Urian Oakes which had been delivered two years earlier:

THE UNCONQUERABLE ALL-CONQUERING, & MORE-THAN-CONQUERING SOULDIER: Or, The succesful Warre which a Believer Wageth with the Enemies of his Soul: . . . Artillery Election, June 3d, 1672. Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green. 1674.

Their sermon in 1674 was delivered by the pastor at Portsmouth, already rivaling Boston and Salem as a shipping center further from the searchers for the royal customs collectors. It appeared with the title:

SOULDIERY SPIRITUALIZED, or the Christian Souldier Orderly, and Strenuously Engaged in the Spiritual Warre. And so fighting the good Fight; Represented in a Sermon Preached at Boston . . . Artillery Election there, June 1. 1674. By Joshua Moodey . . . Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green 1674.

Parson Moodey from the northern harbor town was scandalized by the way the training day was observed by the people of the metropolis, declaring that:

Your ordinary Training dayes are accounted Recreation-dayes, play-dayes, sporting-dayes, and they are oft, and by many, spent in vanity and Licentiousness, as if vain Merriment, Idleness, Voluptuousness and Excess were the work of the day, as if there would be no Reckoning for mens taking occasion to make Provision for the Flesh . . . Many will declaim much against Sin while in the meantime they nourish and cocker it . . .

This sermon was carelessly printed and no doubt the author was too far away for the proof of at least one page to be shown him, for it has "Heaven wust be won," "e're," "ha's," and "mnst." The catchword "bloody" is followed overleaf by "bloudy." The bottom of page 42, F₃verso, slipped and twisted on the press.

In 1675 military duties in the field were too actively engrossing for any kind of a holiday, but the next year Samuel Willard of Groton clung eloquently for 21 pages to his theme of:

THE HEART GARRISONED or, The Wisdome, and Care of the Spiritual Soldier above all things to safeguard his Heart. Delivered . . . to the Honoured

Gentlemen of the Artillery Company . . . June. 5. 1676 . . . Cambridge,
Printed by Samuel Green. 1676.

After this the Boston artillerymen patronized their local printers. The Cambridge Press secured only one more of the military sermons. This one had been delivered four years before it was printed, during the excitement of the Indian outbreak, to a company training perhaps at Salem or Newbury by John Richardson of the latter town on:

THE NECESSITY OF A WELL EXPERIENCED SOULDIERY: or, A Christian Common Wealth ought to be well Instructed & Experienced in the Military Art. Delivered in a Sermon. upon an Artillery Election June the 10th: 1675 By J. R. Cambridge. Printed by Samuel Green. 1679.

CHAPTER XIV
BUSINESS VICISSITUDES

MATHER PATRONAGE

DURING the years from 1668 to 1672 while Green and Johnson were working together; the younger man established himself in the good opinion of his Cambridge neighbors. He married, on April 28, 1670, Ruth Cane, a young woman whose parents lived next door to a house he had bought in the winter of 1665/6, and at a town meeting on November 11, 1672 he was chosen constable. On June 15, 1675 Judge Samuel Sewall attended a meeting of the Harvard Corporation and entered in his diary that it "met and chose Sir Thacher Fellow, Mr. Johnson Printer." The College record of this meeting includes a vote which refers to another entry already quoted:

that Mr. Marmaduke Johnson's bargain made May 27, 1673, ordered to be confirmed by writings, and his privilege of being of the college confirmed.

The College now owned everything that was left of what Mr. Glover brought in 1638, including a considerable assortment of fonts of type, of some of which little use had been made. This may have suffered from neglect and perhaps even more from irregular use. To this was added by loan in 1670 the use of the large amount of type secured in 1659 for the INDIAN BIBLE as well as that sent over in 1655 which was mingled with the other College type. The loan also gave a claim on the type brought over by Johnson in 1665. There was also the press that came in 1638, which was probably the one that had to be repaired once or twice with rawhide while the BIBLE was being printed, and the College had the use of the one sent over in 1660 for the Indian work. Johnson for his part owned a press of his own and he had in his possession all of the newer type which he brought from London in 1665, some of which he claimed as his own property.

The newer type could have been used for the printing done "by S. G. and M. J." from 1669 to 1671. None of the Cambridge imprints of these years that have been examined show signs of wear which would justify President Chauncy's *diuturno usu valde attriti sunt, et ad usum*

Typographicum inepti sunt. There are many pages badly printed but these can ordinarily be explained as due to too much or too little ink, perhaps sluggish in cold weather, or to careless presswork. There is more of this printing all told than is likely to have been done with the type added in 1665, and some of the fonts that were used are not likely to have been purchased at that time.

The shop rather than either individual printer should be credited with a connection made in 1670 which did much to offset the shrinkage of the Indian work. For the next hundred years the writings of the offspring of Richard Mather provided more work to keep the typesetters busy than any other single source except the lawmakers. It is not certain that the pressmen, the paper makers, or the booksellers were under equal obligations to these writers. The scanty evidence seems to imply that few of their publications had a sale sufficient to repay the cost of printing. It justifies an opinion that most of their publications were paid for by the author or by his acquaintances, including the owners of bookshops, solicited by him or on his behalf. The most prolific of these writers, Cotton Mather, learned early in life an important lesson, that a short essay got more attention if its apparent bulk was increased by putting it on to the smallest practicable page, and that a brief offering brought its author a more beneficial response from more actual readers than the longest ones.

Richard Mather died while staying with his youngest son during a visit to Boston in April 1669. Three months later an older son, Eleazar, died at Northampton in western Massachusetts, and the youngest, Increase, had to go there to settle his affairs. It was not until the next March that Increase resumed his duties at his Boston church. On September 6, 1670, he dated the dedication of 36 pages on *THE LIFE AND DEATH OF MR. RICHARD MATHER . . .* Cambridge: Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1670. The next year, probably in the spring, he saw through the Press a sermon preached by his brother Eleazar. The doubt arises from the date of Increase's dedication to the Northampton parishioners, "From my Study in Boston in N. E. 1.1.1671." As the year began on March 25, that month was numbered as the first of the twelve, although its first three and a half weeks belonged to the year that was ending. The printed sermon is dated 1671 and its 31 text pages, five sheets, could have been done in three weeks, before the arrival of 1672. On the other hand, if the printers were busy and the work was delayed, Mather may have thought of the new month as the first of the coming year 1671.

The uncertainty is annoying because the two printers separated toward the end of the 1671 year. There is only one imprint with that date and Marmaduke Johnson's name alone, an edition of the PLATFORM OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE, which he is supposed to have done after the break occurred. But if the sermon was printed before the break and between March 1 and 25, then Johnson alone cannot have done his PLATFORM between the break and 1672. The important conclusion from these uncertainties is that imprint dates were no more trustworthy in 1672 than in 1945. The above concerns:

A SERIOUS EXHORTATION TO THE PRESENT AND SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS IN NEW-ENGLAND; Earnestly calling upon all to Endeavour that the Lords Gracious Presence may be continued with Posterity. Being the Substance of the Last Sermons Preached by Eleazar Mather . . . Cambridge: Printed by S.G. and M.J. 1671.

When Increase Mather returned from England in 1661 he could have had in one of his boxes the manuscript of two sermons by his brother Samuel, with whom he had lived in 1657 while studying at Trinity College Dublin. After the news of Samuel's death reached him, Increase composed a preliminary six pages To the Reader signed "M I," and sent these to the press with the title:

A TESTIMONY FROM THE SCRIPTURE AGAINST IDOLATRY & SUPERSTITION. In Two Sermons; Upon the Example of that Great Reformer Hezekiah, 2 Kings 18.4. The first, Witnessing in generall against all the Idols of men in the Worship of God. The second, more particularly against the Ceremonies, and some other Corruptions of the Church of England. Preached, the one September 27. the other September 30. 1660. By Mr. Samuel Mather, Teacher to a Church of Christ in Dublin in Ireland. 1 Sam. 5.3.4. (seven lines quotation)

Doubts existed as to the place of printing until a copy reached the American Antiquarian Society bearing a note in the hand of Thomas Prince, who did not know that Mather, after the Cambridge printers separated toward the end of 1671, gave his support to Johnson:

Printed at Cambridge By Samuel Green about 1672 The author, Mr. Samuel Mather Died at Dublin, October 29, 1671. Aetat. 46 Magnalia. And by some Passages in ye Preface These Sermons were Published after his Decease. The earliest therefore we can allow was in 1672

In the autumn of 1673, dating his Preface on October 30, Increase Mather had printed:

WO TO DRUNKARDS. Two Sermons Testifying against the Sin of Drunkenness: Wherein the Wofulness of that Evil, and the Misery of all that are addicted to it, is discovered from the Word of God . . . Cambridge: Printed by Marmaduke Johnson. 1673. And Sold by Edmund Ranger Bookbinder in Boston.

In the sidenotes to the sermons on temperance the printer used Greek and Hebrew type. It is the only time that either is found in Johnson's work and it is unlikely that he would have included either in his purchases made when in London in 1665. There was a supply of both at the Indian College in Cambridge more than ample for any use that had been made of it for thirty-five years. The probabilities are that, if Johnson hesitated to ask the favor of a loan from Green, Mather arranged for the use of it with the President of the College to which the Press belonged. In the following February, Increase Mather preached twice on a special fast day appointed for his church and sent these sermons to the printer:

THE DAY OF TROUBLE IS NEAR. Two Sermons Wherein is shewed What are the Signs of a Day of Trouble being near. And particularly, What reason there is for New-England to expect A Day of Trouble. Also what is to be done, that we may escape these things which shall come to pass. Preached (the 11th day of the 12th Moneth, 1673) being a day of Humiliation . . . Cambridge: Printed by Marmaduke Johnson. 1674.

THE THIRD CODIFICATION

The second codification of the Massachusetts laws, printed in 1660, was supplemented by the laws passed in the next three years, with omissions and further legislation a year later. In 1665 and 1666 the new laws were printed after the end of the October session; in 1668 after the April and October sessions; in 1669 in May. If others were printed, they have not been preserved. When a new General Court assembled in May 1670 one of its first acts was to declare that:

Whereas there is a great want of law books for the use of the several Courts and inhabitants of this jurisdiction at present, and very few of them that are extant are complete, containing all laws now in force amongst us, it is therefore ordered that [six members] or any four of them, of whom Major Lusher to be one . . . be a committee to peruse all our laws now in force, to collect and draw up any litteral errors, or misplacing of words or sentences therein, or any liberties infringed, and to make a convenient table for the ready finding of all things therein, that so they may be fitted for the press.

The report of this committee was presented in October and subjected to changes, and in May 1671 another committee composed of better known members:

are empowered to cause the book of laws to be printed, and an exact table to be made thereto with a marginal note of the word 'Repealed' unto all laws that stand repealed; and the Treasurer is required to pay for the impression and dispose of the books, as to him shall seem expedient for the public good and advantage.

The delegation of the task to busier men did not expedite it, for when the next year's legislature assembled in May 1672 it voted:

that the former committee, with the Secretary, formerly appointed to send out the laws to the press, be hereby ordered to peruse the laws now this Court made, and to make a preface and table and what else is requisite, and send all to be printed presently.

On the day that the above order was voted the treasurer may have been heard from. There is no evidence that he refused to go through the experiences and responsibilities that his predecessor of a dozen years before had encountered with the laws of 1660. Either he or somebody had a better idea which was immediately presented in a petition signed by John Usher, which was promptly answered in the following vote:

In answer to the petition of John Usher, the Court judgeth it meet to order, and be it by this Court ordered and enacted, that no printer shall print any more copies than are agreed and paid for by the owner of the said copy or copies; nor shall he or any other, reprint or make sale of any of the same, without the said owner's consent, upon the forfeiture and penalty of treble the whole charges of printing and paper &c. of the whole quantity paid for by the owner of the copy, to the said owner or his assigns.

Further details were embodied in a vote entered on May 7, 1673:

Mr John Usher having been at the sole charge of the impression of the book of laws, and presented the Governor, magistrates, secretary, as also every deputy, the clerk of the deputies one, and Capt. Davis one, the Court judgeth it meet to order, that for at least this seven years, unless he shall have sold them all before that time, there shall be no other or further impression made by any person thereof, in this jurisdiction, under the penalty this Court shall see cause to lay on any that shall adventure in that kind, besides making full satisfaction to the said Mr. John Usher or his assigns, for his charge and damage therein.

This copyright provision may have been inspired by the fear that the newer establishment in Boston might be tempted to interfere with the

prescriptive claims of Samuel Green. The Cambridge printer held on to the legislative work until the end of King Philip's War, bringing out the supplementary laws at the end of each session. During the anxious months of the native rising, the need of sending out proclamations and orders with the least possible delay took much of the administrative business to the Boston shop. After 1677 the printing of the session laws was taken away from Cambridge, but Green continued to get an occasional proclamation.

When in 1672 the *GENERAL LAWS AND LIBERTIES* were printed at Cambridge for John Usher, somebody provided the printer with a cut of the colony seal to give an official aspect to the title page. Matt Bushnell Jones, in a searching study of the cuts used on official publications at this period, noted that a break on the side of the cut used in 1672 "indicates that the engraving was not made on the flat side of a board, longitudinally with the grain, for if it had been the break would have followed the grain of the wood and would have been substantially a chord of the curve . . . we are rather driven to the conclusion that this cut was engraved on a piece of soft and probably brittle metal. This is what might be expected if the cut were made in England." This seal is identified by "a heavily built, not to say squat, female clad in a short pleated skirt; three trees are deciduous in form" resembling those on the first seal of the colony made in England before the migration of 1630. The bow held by the figure is of an English type with a reverse curve.

In 1675, after he failed to eliminate the press in Boston, Green began to use the cut of 1672 on the official broadsides sent to him to be printed. This makes it possible to distinguish those printed at the Cambridge Press from those printed at Boston. A list appended to Mr. Jones's paper assigns to Cambridge two proclamations of 1675, five of 1676, two of 1677, two of 1678, and two of 1691 after a fire destroyed the first Boston shop.

When the Boston printer, John Foster, was given *Several Laws and Ordinances of War made the 26th October 1675 to prevent Profaness that Iniquity be kept out of the Camp*, he used a seal that was undoubtedly his own handiwork. This was clearly cut on the flat side of a board; the Indian is masculine and clad in a girdle of leaves; he holds a typical straight-back Indian bow; and the trees are pines. This cut is found on another proclamation ordered November 3, 1675, on three of 1676, three of 1677, one of March 28, 1678, and all of the thirty-four proclamations and session laws located by Mr. Jones that are dated be-

tween August 22, 1678, the last date on one with the Cambridge seal at this period, and February 16, 1685/6. During the next five years of the Andros regime, the administrators did not consider it necessary to proclaim its decisions in print.

One broadside was printed which did not greatly interest the contemporary public, but a sight of it would be hailed with excited delight by a few people now, partly because it might cast some light on the moot question of the relationship between John Eliot's Indian language and that of the official interpreters employed by the colony. The publication of this proclamation was ordered by the General Court on May 15, 1672:

Order to prevent Indjans to steale Englishmens swjnes, &c . . . Further ordered, that this law be forthwith printed, published, & declared to all the Indians within this jurisdiction, in the Indian language, that they may attend the same; and this law to take place & commence eight months after publication hereof.

☞ The account of the way in which the Cambridge and Boston official broadsides were distinguished is in *The Early Massachusetts-Bay Colony Seals With Bibliographical Notes Based upon Their Use in Printing* by Matt B. Jones, Worcester 1935. This was reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April 1934.

BOOKSELLING AND PUBLISHING

Booksellers blossomed while the printers were at odds. Hitherto the Ushers' general store had been the Boston clearing house for everything that provided respectable intellectual pabulum for the New England public. From his London correspondents Usher received regular shipments of the late publications that had found a market among the relatives and friends of those whose parents had migrated to the New World. In this shop after the arrival of incoming vessels the leading citizens watched the unpacking of boxes of books while their wives and daughters exchanged current gossip as they fingered the newest stuffs and learned of the latest London fashions in neckwear and headdress. Nothing could be further from the fact than to suppose that the output of the local press gave a correct idea of what the community read. Salem and Boston in the seventeenth century provided London booksellers with more regular patrons than at any time after the middle of the next century. At the same time the Cambridge printers looked to Hezekiah Usher for their money for the Indian work as well as for other jobs which he ordered when

he could figure on a ready market for the decrees put forth by Church or State. He was the go-between for pamphleteers and aspiring writers who were prepared to pay to see their efforts put forth in print. To his warehouse the printers sent for paper as they needed it, and at least once he handled an order for type to be imported from overseas.

In 1672, all at once, smaller shops specializing in books and stationery goods hung out their signs. The only book that Marmaduke Johnson is known to have done this year besides the *LOGICK PRIMER* for John Eliot was *CHRISTS FAMOUS TITLES* by William Dyer, which was "Printed by M. J. for Edmund Ranger Bookbinder near the Dock, and Joseph Farnham near the Red Lyon in Boston," addresses that give an idea where men with money to spend for reading matter were likely to pass. The next year Johnson printed Increase Mather's *WO TO DRUNKARDS* to be "Sold by Edmund Ranger Bookbinder in Boston." Another shopkeeper went to him for:

THE SPOUSE OF CHRIST COMING OUT OF AFFLICTION, leaning upon her Beloved: or, A Sermon preached by Mr. John Allin The late Reverend Pastor of Christ at Dedham, At the Administration of the Lords Supper, August 6, 1671. Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green: And are to be Sold by John Tappin of Boston. 1672.

Mr. Allin's sermon on August 6 ends on page 11, and on the reverse of the leaf is another title page for a sermon on "August 13, Being the last that he Preached before his Death which was August 26" ending on page 26. Three months later Samuel Wakeman delivered *A YOUNG MAN'S LEGACY* "on the Death of John Tappin at Fairfield, 10 October 1672" which was printed by Johnson with the imprint dated 1673. Green also printed about this time:

PEACE THE END OF THE PERFECT AND UPRIGHT, Demonstrated and usefully Improved in a Sermon, Preached upon the Occasion of the Death and Decease of that Piously affected, and truly Religious Matron, Mrs. Anne Mason: Sometime Wife to Major Mason, who not long after finished his Course and is now at rest. By Mr. James Fitch Pastor of the Church of Christ at Norwich. Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green. 1672.

The 13 pages required by this sermon were brought within two sheets by placing the prefatory address signed by J. S. on the back of the title. Ranger's rival binder went to Green with a pamphlet that would have interested many along the waterfront as well as up in the town and which has the stigmata of an "Extra" rushed into print while the news

was fresh off an incoming ship. The 24-line title is followed by three pages in a large italic, the first with 9 and the next two with 19 lines, then two pages with 34 and 23 lines, and a Postscript of 12 lines in a small italic. It looks as if everybody in the shop who knew how to handle a compositor's stick had a share in it, and that their work was hurried on to the press with a minimum of oversight. The title is:

THE NARRATIVE OF THE MOST TERRIBLE AND DREADFUL TEMPEST, HURRICANE, OR EARTHQUAKE IN HOLLAND; on Wednesday the 22 of July last, With the particulars of the Damages, how it overthrew and . . . almost utterly ruined the City of Utrecht. Printed first at Amsterdam, by order of the States, and Translated and Published in English, for General Satisfaction, from the Dutch copy . . . To which is added A Letter from Kent, Whereby it appears that the remains of this strange Storm proceeding into England, did Extraordinary hurt in the same Night in Rumney Marsh. Cambridge, printed by S. G. for John Ratcliff of Boston. 1674.

Ratcliffe was still publishing as a sideline ten years later when Green's name appears on some copies of Joseph Rowlandson's fast sermon at Weathersfield on THE POSSIBILITY OF GODS FORSAKING A PEOPLE, printed "for John Ratcliffe and John Griffin."

☞ *The Boston Book Market 1679-1700* by Worthington Chauncey Ford, Boston, Club of Odd Volumes, 1917, prints an inventory made in 1664 of nearly a hundred titles listed by Hezekiah Usher, who then wearied and entered about 600 more in lots, brought to Boston by "a stranger" Thomas Grocer, and ten invoices of books consigned to John Usher by John Ive, Richard Chiswell, and Robert Boulter from London between 1679 and 1685, with other documents of that time.

OVERDRAWN APOSTLE

When Green became once more the unquestioned master of the College shop, Marmaduke Johnson with newer type and a press of his own in his house nearby was free to look about for outside work. He could still count on whatever John Eliot could provide, and although it carries no printer's name, he undoubtedly did a little collection of:

INDIAN DIALOGUES, For their Instruction in the great Service of Christ, in calling home their Countrymen to the Knowledge of God, and of themselves, and of Jesus Christ. Printed at Cambridge, 1671.

The signatures run correctly from A to K₄, but there is a break in the pagination, the numbers 61 to 66 being omitted, so that the customary

explanation of work assigned to two compositors working at the same time is unlikely. This tract is all in English and it begins with a conciliatory address to the Commissioners signed J. E., dwelling on his own conversion to the need of enabling the native converts to communicate with the English churches. The next year the Apostle gave clearer proof that time and experience had worked on his opinions by bringing out:

THE LOGICK PRIMER. Some Logical Notions to initiate the Indians to the knowledge of the Rule of Reason; and to know how to make use thereof. Especially for the Instruction of such as are Teachers among them. Composed by J. E. for the use of the Praying Indians. Printed by M. J. 1672.

This consists of 40 pages of the small size of the 1669 INDIAN PRIMER, five quarter-sheets folded twice. Except for the last seven pages, which are all in Indian, the Indian text is in roman type with an interlinear English version in smaller italic above it. In September 1672 the Commissioners directed Hezekiah Usher to pay Johnson six pounds for printing this. The two recorded copies are in England, at the British Museum and the Bodleian Library at Oxford, where it was not always possible to find it long before the world wars.

A revival of concern over the Christianizing of the natives is one of several indications that the rulers of the English settlements had a feeling that all was not well with their relations with the savages lurking beyond their borders. The Commissioners, also in September 1672, resolved:

That Thomas Danforth, Esq; is ordered to take care that all the Bibles and other prints belonging to the Indians be bound up and not lost; and for that end to call for the same where they are now resting and dispose thereof.

The wording of the last clause suggests that the unbound sheets were stored at the shop in Cambridge, although some may have been in Usher's warehouse. There may also have been renewed requests for copies of the publications, because Eliot and his chief co-laborers, the Mayhews of Martha's Vineyard and John Cotton of Plymouth, sent letters in the late summer of 1671 giving encouraging reports of the success of their efforts. These letters do not state that they were the spontaneous expression of increasing needs, but they happen to coincide in anticipating action that the Commissioners were about to take in response to intimations of financial stringency from London. Eliot had learned that all salaries were going to be reduced and that gratuities to non-workers would be cut

off. Thereupon he persuaded Usher to let him have money for a bill of exchange on Treasurer Ashurst for forty pounds. It was not the first time that Eliot had overdrawn on the credit of his annual salary of fifty pounds, as he now had to explain in a letter which he addressed to the Commissioners but a copy of which he thoughtfully sent to the Corporation. It gives an impression that Usher may have told him that this was his limit.

By some intimation I had from worthy Mr Ashurst I take boldnesse to charge a bill of 40li upon the honourable Corporation . . . wth this supply I sett to work, sent out messengers to many parts, gave entertainmts to such as attended the lectures. A perticular accompt yroff is here enclosed, taken out of Mr Ushers booke, who hath paid all, & I have medled wth none of it . . .

And I am forced now to move, because I am fallen into debt. I ow unto Mr Usher 100li at least for wch all ye yeares Salary is bound before it come, & more also. And yrfore I request you to pay this debt of mine. Did I not conceive yt something is due unto me, I should not make so bold, for to beg I am ashamed. And such wants doe much hinder me from doing yt wch otherwise I might doe, had I wherewth a bill of 80li to Engd would discharge me . . .

The Corporation in reply to their copy of this letter agreed to accept the unwelcome draft, but balked at spending missionary money for powder and shot, which figured in the financial statement that accompanied it. The same letter of September 4, 1671 shows that relations between the Commissioners and Eliot were still strained, for the Apostle appended to a statement that some members of the Natick flock were removing to start another church, a comment beamed on London:

in wch work, & in order thereunto, I shall be put to sundry great charges, & I request yt you would be pleased to allow me something toward the same. And the rather I am bold to propose it, because in all the publik meetings, motions, journeys, translations, attendances at the press, & other occasions yt I have attended in this work, I have never had (to my knowledge & remembrance) the least acknowledgmt from yeur selves [the Commissioners] or one penny supply, save my bare Salary.

Eliot's remembrance failed to recall the repeated suggestions made to him by the Commissioners that they would reconsider the amount of his salary and make provision for other expenses whenever he would inform them how much money he received for the missionary work through other channels, which were now beginning to dry up. The vessel that carried the letter of September 4, if it had favoring gales, could have

been back in the Bay three months later. Eliot heard nothing from London that got on to the records, but he may have heard from Usher, for he wrote a revealing letter to Ashurst dated December 1:

You will see herein my present case & debts to Mr Usher & my requests in yt behalfe & my request for help of some charges this yeare. But they are pleased to answr me with silence, as is wont to be, & therefore I have presumed upon the love of the Right honorable Corporation & have charged a bill of 8oli-osod to be paid to Mr Usher.

But if it should be refused, yn my hands are tyed . . . I am at a dead lift in the work. If the Lord stir up the hearts of men to help me, blessed be his name, & blessed be they yt help me, if no man help me yet myne eyes are to the Lord who hath saide, he will never leave nor forsake me, and when these debts are paide it will be long ere I shall run into debt againe . . . now my credit is engaged upon my debt to Mr Usher & upon the paymt of this bill of 8oli in which I doe humbly request yt it may be accepted.

So wth requesting of your prayers I commit you to the Lord & to the word of his grace, & rest

Your unworthy brothr in
the Service of our Lord
John Eliot

The members of the Corporation listened to the reading of the above letter on March 12, 1671/2 and proceeded to direct that a letter be written to the Commissioners:

& that it be therin signified that this Company (being unwilling to discourage soe worthy an Instrumt in the work of propagacon of the gospell as Mr Eliot is & hath been) have ordered his bill of 8oli to be accepted & paid accordingly And that the sd Commissioners be desired not to charge any bills upon this Companie but to reward Mr Eliott & other Ministers & Instruments to be employed in the saide worke as the said Comrs shall finde them & their labours respectively deserve & as their stock & monies remitted to them by this Comp: will afford. . . .

KING PHILIP'S WAR

Eliot felt his zeal renewed more than did the Commissioners by the news that his draft had been accepted, but all hopes were dashed by the outbreak of the disastrous rising known as King Philip's War. When quiet was restored by the virtual elimination of the irreconcilable natives, copies of the *INDIAN BIBLE* had been used for unintended purposes. The most pitiful sufferers from the hostilities were the "praying Indians"

who had been living comfortably under Eliot's ministrations at Natick on the Charles River, on the outer edge of the settlements bordering Boston Harbor. In the autumn following the outbreak of the war the authorities of the Bay were forced by the panic in the community to remove these natives to a concentration camp on an unfurnished island in the harbor, where they were kept until the immediate danger was over. In the Roxbury church records Eliot wrote:

When the Indians were hurried away to an Iland at half an hours warning, pore soules in terror yei left theire goods, books, bibles, only some few carried yr Bibles, the rest were spoyled & lost. So yt when ye wares wre finished, & yei especially bewailed yr want of Bibles, ys made me meditate upon a 2d impression of o'r Bible, & accordingly tooke paines to revise the first edition. I also intreated Mr John Cotton to help in yt work, he having obtained some ability so to doe. He read over the whole Bible, & whatever doubts he had, he writ ym down in order, & gave ym to me, to try ym & file over among o'r Indians. I obtained the favor to reprint the new Testament & psalmes, but I met wth much obstruction for reprinting the old testament, yet by prayre to God, Patience & intreatye, I at last obtained yt also, praised be the Lord.

There were differences of opinion at the time concerning the extent and the importance of Cotton's changes. A few decades later Thomas Prince made a memorandum of a report that he had obtained, stating that Cotton:

being well acqd wth ye Indn Langg was desd by ye Indn Commissrs to correct Mr Eliots versn of 1663; took this method—while a good Reader in his Study read ye Eng Bible aloud, Mr Cotton silently look'd along in ye same place in ye Indn Bible: & whr He thot of Indn words wh He judg'd cd express ye sense better, There He substituted ym, & this 2d Editn is accordg to Mr Cottons correction.

The second John Cotton had been separated from his charge of the Plymouth Church for reasons involving one of the ladies of his flock, and he may have welcomed the opportunity to demonstrate his usefulness in a pious work. He was acquainted with the more numerous natives who lived south of Boston, so that his rendering increased the number of potential converts who could be expected to understand it.

Boyle's reply to Eliot's appeal enabled the latter to start work on the New Testament. The Press had the type used for the first edition and it is supposed that the native apprentice of eighteen years before, known as James Printer, was available if not regularly employed at the Indian College. On November 4, 1680, Eliot reported to Boyle that:

Our praying Indians, both in the islands, and on the main, are, considered together, numerous; thousands of souls, of whom some true believers, some learners, and some still infants, and all of them beg, cry, entreat for bibles, having already enjoyed that blessing, but now are in great want.

At the Natick village each family had been given a Bible which became a symbol and certificate vouching for its possessor as one of the elect who were entitled to a share of the Apostle's entertainments to such as attended his discourses. Other natives whose homes had been disrupted by the suppression of the rising, now showed an eagerness to accept the offerings of the missionaries, heralded by the promise of more Bibles.

One of the copies that survived the wartime confusion was seen by two Dutch Labadist missionaries who were in Boston in July 1680 on their way home from Manhattan. They entered in their diary, as translated:

The best of the ministers whom we have yet heard, is a very old man, named John Eliot who has charge of the instruction in the Indians in the Christian religion. He has translated the Bible into their language. We had already made enquiries of the book sellers for a copy of it, but it was not to be obtained in Boston.

8th (July) We went about eight o'clock in the morning to Roxbury . . . Although he could speak neither Dutch nor French and we spoke but little English, we managed by means of Latin and English to understand each other . . . He said in the late Indian war all the Bibles and Testaments were carried away and burnt or destroyed so that he had not been able to save any for himself, but a new edition was in press which he hoped would be much better than the first one although that was not to be despised. We enquired whether any part of the old or new edition could be obtained by purchase, and whether there was any grammar of that language in English. Thereupon he went and brought us the Old Testament, and also the New Testament made up with some sheets of the new edition so that we had the Old and New Testaments complete. He also brought us two or three small specimens of the grammar. We asked him what we should pay him for them, but he desired nothing.

☞ The diary of the Dutch Labadists Danckaerts or Dankers and Sluyter or Vorstman was translated by Henry C. Murphy for publication in 1867 in Volume I of the *Publications* of the Long Island Historical Society; reprinted in 1913 with negligible changes as *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679-1680*, edited by B. B. James and J. F. Jameson, in the *Original Narratives on Early American History*. The copy of the Bible given to them by Eliot found its way to the Zealand Academy of Arts and Sciences at Middleburgh in Holland. It was described in a publication of that institution from which it was translated for the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for May 1874, which was followed by Wilberforce Eames in entering it as No. 39 in the

list of copies in Pilling's *Bibliography of Algonquian Languages*, Washington 1891, and by Jameson in 1913.

☞ The Dutch travelers may not have known where to enquire among the Boston bookshops, for another purchaser who was more of a collector had better luck in finding a very good copy a year later. This came to rest in the Wellesley College Library recently with the second owner's notation: "Samuel Saunders S 1. No. 1 Brought by John Beighton from New England. Cost 5s or 6s in Boston 1681."

THE END OF MARMADUKE JOHNSON

President Chauncy died on February 19, 1671/2, and on May 15 his place on the board of licensers for the Press was filled by the appointment of John Oxenbridge and Urian Oakes, who preached the election sermons in 1671 and 1673. Other evidence connects the friends of one with the supporters of Johnson and of the other with those of Green. After three years of collaboration the initials of the two printers ceased to appear together in imprints when it came to be time to print AN EPHEMERIS OF THE COELESTIAL MOTIONS, which is the almanac for 1672 prepared by Jeremiah Shepard of the class of 1669, which was "Printed by Samuel Green." A reprint of the PLATFORM OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE "Printed by Marmaduke Johnson. 1671." may have been done by him while Green was getting out the almanac. Eliot's LOGICK PRIMER and William Dyer's CHRISTS FAMOUS TITLES, neither time-consuming productions, are the only recorded Johnson imprints of 1672, when five titles are claimed by Green, two of them sizable compilations of the laws of the neighboring colonies of Plymouth and Connecticut. In 1673 Johnson printed Mather's WO TO DRUNKARDS for the bookbinder Edmund Ranger, a funeral sermon on John Tappin, whose name is that of a Boston bookseller, and two other titles which look like commissions from a bookshop, OLD MR. DODS SAYINGS and MOUNT SION: OR, THE PRIVILEGE AND PRACTICE OF THE SAINTS. These need not have taken half his time of the two years and it is quite possible that he spent the winter of 1672/3 in London, reëstablishing himself in his brother's circle and in the good opinion of the members of the Corporation besides attending to some of his own private affairs, returning to New England in the spring. A year later he reopened the matter of removing his printing shop to the metropolis with the following petition:

To the honble the Governor, Deputy Governor, & the rest of the hond Magistrates & Deputies for the Massachusetts Colony, assembled in Generall Court at Boston, 27:3d Moneth, 1674.

The humble Petition of Marmaduke Johnson of Cambridge, printer:
Sheweth,

That yor petr being in London brought up in the art of printing & in no other Calling or Occupation; & being by the Providence of God brought into this Country with his Press & Letters in the year 1665, It pleased this honrd Court (after his arrivall) to pass an Order bearing date the 3d of May in the year aforesaid, thereby prohibiting the exercise of Printing in any Town within this Jurisdiction, save only at Cambridge: In obedience whereunto yor petr hath ever since made that his place of residence. But finding by long & sad experience the great discomodity & detriment of such Confinement of his Calling, & an absolute impossibility of providing comfortably for himself & family by the Incomes thereof, though managed with greatest care, & followed with all possible diligence, not having imployment therein for one third part of his time, Conflicting with difficulties too great & many to be here recited; and also being sensible of the loss & disadvantage accrewing hereby to the Commonwealth, who by his Art & Endeavors might have many usefull & profitable Tracts printed and published here, were he allowed the liberty of his Calling in a convenient place of Trade: And humbly conceiving, no more security to the State in preventing the printing of things irregular, or abusive thereunto, by such Confinement then if it were exercised in the most populous Town within this Jurisdiction; all which yor petr is ready to demonstrate, if called thereunto:

Doth therefore in all humility pray this honrd Court, That you would be pleased to take the premises into yor grave & serious Considerations & grant him such liberty & relief therein as in yor wisdoms shall seem meet; that so the Art of Printing may by this honod Court be duely encouraged, & the practitioners thereof have lawfull liberty of exercising the same in such place within this Jurisdiction, as they shall finde most commodious for them, & most to the advantage of the Commonwealth; submitting at all times to such Laws and Orders as are or shall be made concerning the premises, by the Authority of the Commonwealth.

And yor petr (as in duty bound) shall ever pray &c.
30th May 1674.

Marmaduke Johnson.

The document is endorsed:

The magists judge meet to grant the peticoners request. So as nothing be printed till license be obteyned according to lawe, their Brethren the deputies Consenting.

Ed: Rawson, Secrety

The deputies Consent hereto.

William Torrey, Cleric.

The day that Johnson started to write the above petition, May 27, was that on which the Court met for the annual election of the magistrates and other officials, but it found time to thank the preacher of the election sermon and to pass the following vote:

Whereas there is now granted that there may be a printing press elsewhere then at Cambridge, for the better regulation of the press, it is ordered and enacted, that the Reverend Mr Thomas Thatcher & Mr Increase Mather, of Boston, be added unto the former licensers, and they are hereby empowred to act accordingly.

The dates on the preceding documents are confusing. A possible explanation may be that it had been settled before the Court met that Johnson was to be permitted to set up his shop in Boston, and that the new licensers were named along with the other elective officials on the first day of the session. Johnson doubtless attended with his petition on that day, but it is not improbable that the matter did not come up for action until May 30 and that this was the day when the petition was presented and acted on.

On July 18 Johnson purchased a house lot with a twenty-foot frontage and the buildings thereon near the center of the town of Boston for £102. Six days later Increase Mather dated his preface to Samuel Torrey's election sermon which was printed by Johnson with the Cambridge imprint. This must be taken to mean that he did the work before he moved to his new location, as the presswork must have been started after he bought the house in Boston. He could have interrupted the work and finished it at the new shop, but there is no indication that this was done. Nothing has been found that can have been printed by him after this in Boston, where he died on the next December 25.

The inventory of Johnson's estate shows him to have been a person of substance, living comfortably. The work he is known to have done would not account for this, if he told the truth about his financial condition when he went to London in 1665, but he may have received an inheritance from England or have speculated luckily in America. His Boston house was appraised for two pounds more than he paid for it a few months earlier, his Cambridge house at nearly half as much, £45, and he had invested in $\frac{1}{24}$ share in a ketch, valued at £7. There was £12 due to him. The personal belongings were appraised at £131/13/6.

Johnson's wearing apparel was valued at £9, and he had a belt, rapier, and pike as well as a musket and rest. The furnishings of the house in-

cluded a bed and another featherbed, both with furniture and bedstead, as well as a "flock bed & hamack & furniture, four pair of sheets, and $\frac{1}{2}$ Douz pillow coats." There were "1 Douz: napkins, 10 napkins more fine, 4 napkins & 1 tablecloth & 3 small table clothes"—suggestive of a bridal outfit. The pewter dishes and other pewter were worth £2:12s, and there was a brass kettle entered at £2, a "silver wine taster & small Buttons," besides two iron pots, one old kettle, dripping pan and "puddin pan," a warming pan and "box iron and heaters." The couple had been in the new house so short a time that the two pair of andirons, fire shovel, tongs and bellows may have furnished the Cambridge house and not been all that was needed in Boston. With the square table there were eight chairs and four stools, three chests and a cupboard (perhaps in a corner, as the appraisers later found "two cupboard cloaths" worth to them six shillings). Besides four shillings' worth of earthenware there were three dozen of trenchers at two shillings and six glass bottles at three shillings. For the kitchen there was a "powdring tub and meat, kneading trough and sieves, a tin funnell and pepper box." Two candlesticks and a lamp worth a shilling seem inadequate. It is not known that there was need of a wicker cradle. A basket and "some other lumber 10s, & seaven Steins 3s.6d" completed the inspection of the house.

The shop could have been in a front room or in a shed, and the "Print- ing press & letters wth ye utensills" were put in at £50. There was also "book Bynders Press & tooles £6, sceales weights & measures 5s," an ink tub with ink 3s, "thin Plate Brass & parchment 9s." One ream of paper with other waste paper 9s does not look as if much printing had been done recently, and an apprentice boy's time was worth £7.

The remaining entries in the inventory deal with books and printed sheets with figures which add to knowledge of trade practices. Four dozen PRIMERS are entered at 16 shillings which would be 4 pence each. If this was the wholesale rate it seems high, but it would strengthen a suspicion that this was a remainder of the PRIMER listed in September 1668 and that it was the size of the INDIAN PRIMER of the next year which consisted of two sheets for each copy, 128 pages. The hundred CATECHISMS at ten shillings, about five farthings apiece, would be a reasonable wholesale rate for a half- or quarter-sheet booklet intended to retail at tuppence. There were three dozen copies of a treatise which is the latest addition to the list of early Massachusetts imprints:

MOUNT SION: OR, THE PRIVILEGE AND PRACTICE OF THE SAINTS, OPENED AND APPLIED. By that faithful Dispenser of the Mysteries of Christ, Walter

Cradock, late Preacher at Allhallows the Great in London. Cambridge: Printed by M. J. 1673.

A copy of this which reached the Massachusetts Historical Society library in 1941 is the earliest known example of an Anglo-American reprint of a transatlantic publication of appreciable size. Its 231 small octavo pages of text, B-P₈ Q₄, are preceded by 4 preliminary leaves which could have been printed on the other half of the last sheet. There is nothing to indicate why this work should have been selected for reprinting by Johnson, who showed signs of market sense in other ventures. The only recorded London edition is dated 1649, presumably with the six preliminary pages To the Reader by John Robotham dated Octob. 24, 1650 which introduce Johnson's reprint. It reappeared as part of Cradock's *Gospel Holiness* printed by Mary Simmons in 1651, with the identical title page indicating that unsold remainder copies were bound into the author's next offering. The American edition has every appearance of a speculative venture which had not taken the precaution of getting a local clergyman to contribute a recommendation and which none of the Boston booksellers risked taking off the printer's hands. The 36 copies appraised at ten shillings, a bit over threepence each, were presumably unbound sheets which would have been unsalable without a suitable cover. Six years earlier the Boston binder was paid 13s:6d for binding 450 copies of Eliot's INDIAN GRAMMAR at three shillings a hundred, and he did 400 copies of Baxter's CALL at the same rate, three for a penny. This can hardly have paid for more than sewing the folds together inside a wrapper of paper supplied by the printer. The CALL consisted of eight sheets folded to the same size as MOUNT SION, but the latter had twice as many folds and required a substantial cover to appeal to buyers. The surviving copy is in a solid calf or cowskin binding that could have been put on in New England, possibly by Johnson himself with his "book Bynders tooles," and which may last another three centuries if it is looked at no oftener than in the past.

Cotton's Catechism mentioned in the inventory could have been a reprint of the SPIRITUAL MILK FOR BOSTON BABES, of which a recorded edition of 1668 has not been located. Green had the Westminster Assembly's CATECHISM on his list of that year and there is every probability that both printers got out competing editions, unless each agreed to recognize the other's right to one of the two for which there was an insatiable demand for the use of school children.

Jonathan Mitchell's election sermon for 1667 was "Printed by S.G.

and M.J. 1671"; the 1649 PLATFORM OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE by Johnson alone in the same year; and Mather's WO TO DRUNKARDS by Johnson for Edmund Ranger in 1673. Johnson's copies of these three, which were lumped at six shillings, could have been his share of the overrun sheets unbound. Two unnamed books doubtless not his handiwork were put in at the same valuation, along with a small Bible at four shillings. A great Bible was reckoned as worth fourteen shillings. The only other volume not of local manufacture was Thomas Shepard's big folio on the *Parable of the Ten Virgins* printed at London in 1660, which was put in at ten shillings.

The entry of two sheets of a PSALTER valued at one pound could hardly be an unbound remainder of the edition that is known only from the mention of it in Johnson's list of 1668, unless it might mean that a considerable part of all but two sheets had been spoiled by some accident. It is more likely that Johnson had started to print another of the editions that were numbered but have not been located, and had completed two sheets before he had to stop working. Perhaps these two sheets were taken over by Foster when he bought Johnson's plant. There is a further possibility that Foster, never vigorous, did not do anything with them during the six years that he owned the press. This becomes more probable from the wording of an advertisement that appeared on the last page of William Brattle's EPHEMERIS for 1682, as described in the next section:

The Psalter also which Children so much wanted, is in part printed; and will shortly be finished; both to be sold by John Usher of Boston.

Until a Children's Psalter of this period comes to light, speculation is futile as to its format or contents. It might represent an unsuccessful effort to escape from the sheepish reprintings of the NEW ENGLAND PSALM BOOK.

Ruth Johnson survived her husband only two years. Her will, apparently dictated from her deathbed at the suggestion of someone who knew a little about the law of inheritance, is dated April 2, 1676. The inventory of her estate contained two pertinent items:

In bookes and binders towles

7-0-0

Thear is 10li due from the Corporation concerning Ingin work of primers

The INDIAN PRIMER of 1669 was presumably the one which Mrs. Johnson claimed had not been paid for. The Commissioners' reports which

should have contained an entry of such a payment, if it had been made, have not survived. A possible reason for withholding the money is suggested by a lawsuit entered by their attorney on behalf of the Commissioners in June 1677 against the executor of the Johnson estate "for detaining a font of letters." This would have been the type sent over in 1665, and the money due for the PRIMER might have been withheld pending the settlement of a dispute over the question of what part of this type belonged to the printer and what to the New England Company. So long as Eliot continued to supply Johnson with work to do and found means for paying him, Johnson may have considered that the possession of the new type was worth more to him than the money that was due him.

¶ The inventory of Johnson's estate and that of his wife, from the Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Probate Records, are printed in G. E. Littlefield's *Early Massachusetts Press*, Boston, The Club of Odd Volumes, 1907.

VOICES FROM THE DEAD

Ruth Johnson's nuncupative will reads:

Will of Ruth Johnson of Boston, widow. I give to my brother Jonathan Cane the house and land at Cambridge. In case that my husband's son whom I never saw come not to demand it & let it be kept in. And in case he comes it is my will that the aforesaid house and land be delivered to him without any molestation of him or any by or under him. April 3, 1676. John Conney
John Rich

There is no other reference to a child by the first wife that has been noted. It looks as if the mother kept this child with her when she took in the silk stocking weaver and that when he had her shipped off to the Indies the paternal relatives took charge of the offspring aged not more than three or four years. When the father was in London in the winter of 1664/5 he could have made whatever arrangements were called for. Ten years later the inventory of his estate shows that he had accumulated a respectable amount of belongings and two houses valued at £150. The Boston house may have been returned to the holder of a mortgage after Johnson died, as his widow did not mention it in her will, although she claimed Boston as her home. When the second wife died, the boy became the legal heir to everything except the widow's third. Nothing more is heard of a claimant and the property passed into the Cane family.

Leonard Hoar, a well-connected Harvard graduate of 1650, was in

England looking for a satisfactory settlement when he heard in the summer of 1671 that the Massachusetts officials were enquiring about a possible successor to the ailing President of the College at the overseas Cambridge. Six months later, on February 5, 1671/2, a group of London Puritan clergymen called the attention of their correspondents in America to a "speaking Providence" in the fact that Dr. Hoar "intends a voyage toward you by this shipping." President Chauncy died a fortnight after the date of this letter, and on March 25 the position was offered to the Reverend John Knowles, an early settler at Watertown who had returned to England in 1651. Dr. Hoar, whose winter voyage may have been by way of the West Indies, arrived in Boston on July 8, staying with his sister's daughter who was the wife of a leading Boston merchant and pillar of the South Church, John Hull. Five days later another death removed the Senior Fellow who had been in charge of the College, and before the month was out, Dr. Hoar was decided upon as President.

Some things were not ironed out before the decision was made, and the new President was not formally inducted into his place until December 10. One of the lesser problems that confronted him had to do with the direction of the Press. That something was wrong with its affairs at this time is shown by the long letter written by its manager, Samuel Green, which is quoted in the next section. Whatever caused the trouble, Dr. Hoar was led to make enquiries for the apparent purpose of finding out where the title to the printing equipment originated. As the business was now becoming profitable, it may be that the Glover heirs, now Winthrops and Appleton, had been talking about their rights. It looks as if there could have been counter-gossip that claimed that there were other families which had an earlier and ampler right to a say regarding the material brought over in 1638 than had Josse Glover's children. Nothing came of any such talk except two entries in the Harvard record book made during Hoar's twenty-seven months' tenure of the presidency:

Some Gentlemen of Amsterdam gave towards the furnishing of a Printing Press with letters gave fourty nine pounds & something more.

Benefactors to the first Font of Letters for printing at Cambridge. Their names collected per L H 1674

Major Thomas Clark

Captain James Oliver

Captain	Allen
Capt	Lake
Mr	Stoddard
	Freake
	Hues

There can be no reasonable doubt that President Hoar's informants were the custodians of a local tradition which in all probability had a basis of truth. Its credibility gains from the failure to identify fully more than two of the benefactors to whom the glory of all that the Harvard Press has since accomplished is primarily due. The two entries made at different times must refer to the same gift, and this gift must have been made before a press was set up in the colony. All the additions to its stock of materials for printing made at later dates are fully accounted for by other contributors. The first chapter of this account of the Press assumes that Mr. Glover included in the printing equipment that was on board the *John of London* in 1638 a supply of type that had been sent from Amsterdam and placed in his care. Mr. Glover supplemented this with whatever else his adviser considered necessary for a complete printing establishment, paid for by himself.

There are circumstances which render an Amsterdam contribution toward a New England venture at that time explicable. During the middle years of the first decade of the Puritan migration to America, English ships shuttled across the Atlantic, making three or four voyages each year and presumably doubling their ordinary profits. The New England settlements supplanted Holland as a refuge for those who wanted to escape from episcopal domination, partly because the English authorities had succeeded in forcing the Dutch government to stop the printing of books and tracts which it was unsafe to print in England, to be smuggled across the Channel. Moreover Holland had long been the principal purveyor of type and supplies to English printers. The Dutch ports were the most frequented commercial centers of northern Europe, and their normal trading advantages were strengthened for English merchants by the large numbers of disaffected fellow countrymen who were living throughout the Low Countries. Taking these factors into account it would not be surprising if a group of shipmasters and supercargoes engaged in the Massachusetts Bay trade, happening to sit together of an evening, agreed that it might be a profitable speculation to help to establish a printing shop overseas where the illicit Puritan print-

ing that was being suppressed in Holland could be done without danger of interference. Circumstances can be imagined which might have led such a group to contribute generously to such a proposal.

The importance of what President Hoar found out about a gift of type is inferential, but he was responsible for an innovation which had a lasting effect upon higher education in the United States. Harvard started its first building when it received a private bequest, and its first Commencement and the inauguration of its second President were tuned to stimulate the thoughts of benefactors. That Commencement of 1642, when two of the collegians indulged in such "swearing and ribaldry speeches" that they were publicly flogged, set another fashion which made the annual occasion a holiday at which it was good form for everybody of high and low degree to loosen up spiritually as well as financially. This annual celebration gave Harvard a distinctive characteristic by emphasizing a cohesive bond uniting those who received their first degree that year. The diary of Samuel Sewall of the class of 1671 shows that this highly developed class feeling had become powerful by that time. Three years after Sewall graduated, President Hoar stamped it into the Harvard structure, unbreakably to everyone's belief until 1930, by issuing a printed sheet:

JOHANNI LEVERETTO *Armigero*,

MASSACHUSETTENSIS COLONIAE GUBERNATORI: . . .

Omnibus etiam in eodem Inclyto Lycæo dextrè & fideliter Docentibus atque Regentibus: Hanc Sobolis Harvardinæ, per trium & triginta Annorum spatium ad Gradum aliquem in Artibus admissæ Catalogum Tanquam Memorialem & Votivam Tabulam: Honoris, Gratitude, & Amoris Ergò, Devotissimè Consecrat,

L. H.

This was the first time so far as has been ascertained that any comparable institution anywhere had undertaken to publish the names of its alumni. In arranging them under their class year, that in which they took the first degree, President Hoar established a distinctive American practice.

There are two hints of what the President had in his mind when he thought up the initiation of the series of Harvard triennial catalogues, which became quinquennial in 1875 and perished of obesity when it required 1,463 pages in 1930. Its death was hastened by a difficulty that

had occurred to the originator, for he inserted under the year 1647 a name that had not appeared with those of his classmates on the printed THESES of that year. This young man's father had parted with much of his great wealth, to save his neck, at the Restoration, but there was plenty left. In succeeding decades there was a steadily increasing number of non-graduates whose names had to be left out of the list of alumni, but who were unfailingly invited to College functions.

The names in type filled all but a few inches of the lower corner of the sheet, and the Presidential muse was called upon for 22 lines of Latin verse addressed to King Charles:

Inter victrices lauros tibi Carole serpat,
Quae spica est segetis, quam tibi sevit Avus.

There is a sidelong glance on a lower level, which is translated in Professor Morison's *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*:

John Harvard's bounty here hath built a House
for nurslings of the deathless Muses nine.
Patrons and fathers, kindly governors,
tend it with counsel, gifts, and loving care.

Whence riseth by God's will, in wilderness,
a University. Ah! how unlike
her mothers, rooted to Old England's soil!
No potent matron she, but heedful nurse
loyal to these her mothers shall she live.
If ye embrace us, and your offspring own,
what joy, what honor, to your progeny.

¶ That "least said, soonest mended" is a long-standing Harvard doctrine is revealed by Professor S. E. Morison's account of what he was unable to find out about President Hoar's administration for the tercentenary *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge 1936. Therein he brought out for the first time the significance of the Harvard CATALOGUE of 1674, preceding by fourteen years the earliest Oxford Catalogue, which like those of other European universities is arranged alphabetically instead of by classes.

The only known copy of the 1674 CATALOGUE was preserved in the Public Record Office, London, where it was found in 1842 by James Savage.

BARREN VICTORY

When in September 1671 John Eliot forestalled a cut in his salary by drawing an unauthorized bill of exchange on the Corporation, he sof-

tened its impact by sending a large "pacquet" with two enclosures which were mentioned in the accompanying letter:

Further I doe present you wth o'r Indians A.B.C. & o'r Indian Dialogs wth a request yt you would pay Printers work. An ingenuous young scholler (Sr Foster) did cut, in wood, the scheame, for wch work I request yt you would pay him. I think him worthy of 3 or 4 or 5li but leave it to your wisdoms

The ingenious youth was John Foster of the Harvard class of 1667 who, as the title of Sir tells, had not taken the second degree for which he became eligible three years after graduation, because he had left Cambridge to become schoolmaster in his home town of Dorchester overlooking Boston. Eliot's language suggests that he had Foster make the "scheame" for an Indian alphabet with the linked oo and without an r, before the young man left Cambridge and while he was woodcarving his way to acquaintance with the craft of printing. It is equally possible that Foster supplied the printers with a block from which they could furnish a substitute for the hornbooks which had been imported from London for the children of English settlers. If he did this after he began teaching school at Dorchester, he was the first teacher with a Harvard degree who produced a text to be sold to his pupils. The records do not show that the Corporation responded to the request, but if they did not do so, Eliot could have paid Foster from a special gift from the Lady Armine which reached him about this time.

The death of Marmaduke Johnson on Christmas Day 1674 removed Samuel Green's only competitor, but it placed on the market a fully equipped printing outfit. Green acted promptly and bought from Mrs. Johnson the type that belonged to her husband. At the same time he secured from one of the Massachusetts Commissioners a promise that the property of the missionary society which had been in Johnson's possession should go to the College shop. However, Eliot still had the order giving him the control of this type, and he and the other Massachusetts Commissioner stopped its removal across the Charles River. Steps were then taken which left no traces but which resulted in permission being granted to Foster to operate a press in Boston, somehow carrying with it the possession of Johnson's complete outfit. There was no delay in making the necessary arrangements, for Increase Mather, who had a hand in it all, entered in his diary on March 25, three months to a day after Johnson died, "guide as to ye Printing of ye sermon I prched ys day 7night." This sermon on *The Wicked Man's Portion* was delivered as a

preliminary to the execution of two men "who had murdered their Master." The author's To the Reader is dated "15 of 2 Moneth" April, and the printer was at work on another timely sermon early in June. This one was on a line to which Johnson had contributed before leaving Cambridge:

THE CRY OF SODOM ENQUIRED INTO. Upon Occasion of the Arraignment and Condemnation of Benjamin Goad, For his Prodigious Villany. Together with A Solemn Exhortation to Tremble at Gods Judgements, and to Abandon Youthful Lusts. By S. D. Cambridge: Printed by Marmaduke Johnson. 1674.

Green did not accept defeat without a protest, which he addressed to the younger John Winthrop on July 6, 1675:

Honoured Sir.

I make bold to present my service to your worship, as also to make known something of those aggrievances that I have mett withal of late, entreating yor worships favour so farr as yor wisdom shall see fitt, it is about printing the employment I was called unto when there was none in the country to carry it along after the death of him that was brought ovr for that work by Mr Jose Glover, and although I was not before used unto it yett being urged thereunto by one and another of place did what by my own endeavours and help that I gott from some others that was procured, I undertook the work, and brought up my son to the same, and was employed in the Indian worke, and the first that did any thing that way as I suppose yor worship may remember, and so that Mr Eliott was very glad of it, and it was a meanes as I suppose of promoting his interest, but when the Bible came to be printed, Mr Eliott was desirous that it might be carryed on with what expedition might be was willing and desirous I should have help, whereupon it was thought convenient to send to the Corporation in England to send one to be helpfull in that work with me; by that meanes Mr Johnson was sent over, and upon what termes and in what way yor worship then knew, being one of the Comissioners, but after some time, he being subtill, and, something prejudiced against me because by my meanes he was disapointed of his intentions in marriage with my daughter, because he had a wife in London, he wound into favour with Mr Eliott to work me out that himselfe might gett in, and when he went for England having letters from Mr Eliott on his behalf, and was betrusted by the Honourable Corporation in London to bring over some letters that the Honoured Comissioners that mett att Hartford that yeare (through my request) sent for, and with the money he received from them brought over also letters for himselfe, and, with a little money more a press also, so that when he came over again, he was so high that I was not regarded nor what I had formerly done, I was forced to comply with him to my great disadvantage to me and

mine, and at last wrought me quite out of the Indian worke and have been so ever since, which worke is the most considerable of any worke in the Country because of the pay for it, but the overseers of the Colledge sending to London to the Corporation (when they perceived how things went) to give to the Colledge these letters that were theirs, the answering their desire partly that they should have the use of them until they saw reason to call for them again, but Mr Johnson gott Mr Eliott to interpose that he might have them still in his hand until he could procure some for his use he hath had them still in his hand, whereas the Corporation did send express order for the delivering of them, and that what was theirs might be together in the hands and for the use of the Colledge,

Now it hath pleased God to take Mr Johnson out of this world by death this last winter and I would very fain and was desirous to have the letters and bought what was Mr Johnsons, but Mr Elliott, through the help of Mr Stoughton, one of the Commissioners for our Colony, put them into the hand of a young man, that had no skill of printing but what he had taken notice by the by, and the indian worke is all putt into his hand, and I and my son altogether defeated although Mr Danforth the other of our Commissioners gave me an order for the receiving of the letters belonging to the Corporation, but we are disappointed, and the work transmitted to others, from whom made the first onsett so that if yor worship can do anything for our reliff by writing to the Corporation at London I should account my selfe ever engaged more abundently to yor worship: and if something be not done that way I suppose the Corporation will also be disappointed, their letters spoyled, and estate wasted; I am very loath to be so troublesome to yor worship, but I know no better way but to lett yor worship understand so farr as I may. I hope yor worship will pardon my boldnes, and shall leave it with yor wisdome, not further to trouble yor worship, but remain as ever I have cause to do Sir yor poore servt

Samuel Green

Samuel Green of the Cambridge Press was liberally endowed with the Puritan virtue of steadfastness in the pursuit of a desired end, but he had outlived the generation of which he was a part. The community in which in his prime he had functioned usefully and understandingly had ceased to have any use for his services. Changing economic and intellectual conditions had centralized most of the important business interests in the metropolis, and that was where the printing that paid for itself originated. The political connections which had turned a dwindling amount of official and fraternal work to the wornout Cambridge shop broke down when an emergency made time a factor that overrode friendship. When a group of public-spirited citizens who had money to risk on the chances of a profitable speculation decided to subsidize the printing

shop in a more convenient location, there was nobody except its manager to speak up for the rival across the mudflats.

The post-war depression brought the Press, for reasons that are not apparent, two publications which posterity holds in even higher esteem than did their contemporaries. They are the two most significant contributions to the story of King Philip's War by participants. One is among the most famous writings by an American authoress and the other is almost unknown. The latter is:

A THANKFULL REMEMBRANCE OF GODS MERCY To several Persons at Quabaug or Brookfield: Partly in a Collection of Providences about them, and Gracious Appearances for them: And partly in a Sermon Preached By Mr. Edward Bulkley, Pastor of the Church of Christ at Concord, upon a day of Thanksgiving kept by divers for their Wonderfull Deliverance there. Published by Capt. Thomas Wheeler. Cambridge, Printed and Sold by Samuel Green 1676.

The 32-page sermon preached October 21, 1675 is preceded by Captain Wheeler's all-too-brief report headed:

A True Narrative of the Lords Providences in various dispensations towards Captain Edward Hutchinson of Boston and my self, and those that went with us into the Nipmuck Country, and also to Quabaug, alias Brookfield: The said Captain Hutchinson having a Commission from the Honoured Council of this Colony to Treat with several Sachems in those parts in order to the publick peace, and my self being also ordered by the said Council to accompany him with part of my Troop for Security from any danger that might be from the Indians: and to assist him in the Transaction of matters committed to him.

The more famous contribution shows that the appetite for stories of enemy atrocities was fully as keen in the seventeenth century as in the twentieth. The prosperous town of Lancaster in northern Massachusetts was burned by the Indians on February 10, 1675/6 and the well-to-do minister's wife, Mary Rowlandson, was among those who were carried away into the winter wilderness. On May 2 she was returned as the result of negotiations carried on by Major Hoar of Concord, who had long maintained good relations with his native neighbors. Mr. Rowlandson accepted a call to minister to the town of Wethersfield, and there his wife wrote out her diary of her "removes" while a captive. She was persuaded to allow this to be printed as:

THE SOVEREIGNTY & GOODNESS OF GOD TOGETHER, WITH THE FAITHFULNESS OF HIS PROMISES DISPLAYED; Being a Narrative Of the Captivity and

Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson. Commended by her, to all that desires to know the Lords doings to, and dealings with Her. Especially to her dear Children and Relations . . . Written by Her own Hand for Her private Use, and now made Publick at the earnest Desire of some Friends, and for the benefit of the afflicted. Deut. 22. 29. [Cambridge, Printed by Samuel Green, 1682?]

The first edition is not known to exist, although it may be represented by two leaves of the text at the Massachusetts Historical Society. These resemble the second edition but there are typographic differences which distinguish them from any of the known copies. In the Prince Collection in the custody of the Boston Public Library there is a copy with the title as printed above, with the added words "The second Addition Corrected and amended." The British Museum and the Henry E. Huntington Library have copies with this changed to "The Second Edition Altered and Amended." The curious error becomes significant from other evidence that at this time there was a typesetter at the Press who had an undeveloped phonetic sense that governed his spelling. In 1680 he slipped "Propogation of the Gospel" into the imprint of the second edition of Eliot's NEW TESTAMENT, and in 1685 the reprint of Baily's PRACTICE OF PIETY in Indian has "Printed for the right Honorable Corperation in London for Gospelizing the Indins." So far as extant copies of these two publications show, these spellings were not changed. Since Steven Day's death there had been nobody who is known to have had access to the Press who might be suspected of these verbal idiosyncrasies except the native helper renamed James Printer, who is believed to have been about forty years old in 1680.

The friend who took the responsibility for printing Mrs. Rowlandson's narrative signed the Preface to the Reader *Ter Amicam*. A date in this preface is corrected in an errata note at the end of her consort's printed sermon, in which the preface is signed B. VV; Mrs. Rowlandson's maiden name was White. The Henry E. Huntington Library has, with the second edition of Mrs. Rowlandson's narrative, a copy of Mr. Rowlandson's sermon with the title:

THE POSSIBILITY OF GODS FORSAKING A PEOPLE, That have been visibly near & dear to him Together, with the Misery of a People thus forsaken, Set forth in a Sermon, Preached at Weathersfield, Nov. 21. 1678. Being a Day of Fast and Humiliation. By Mr. Joseph Rowlandson Pastor of the Church of Christ there. Being also his last Sermon. Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green. 1682.

There are other copies of this sermon which have on the title the imprint "Boston in New-England Printed for John Ratcliffe, & John Griffin. 1682." It is more than likely that this is the imprint that will be found on the title of the first edition of Mrs. Rowlandson's narrative if it ever turns up, concealing the fact that it was printed at Cambridge by preserving the names of two enterprising Boston booksellers.

CHAPTER XV

THE CLOSING YEARS

TRANSMIGRATION

For reasons that will doubtless remain a matter for speculation, in June 1677 the attorney for the Commissioners who had not met since the previous September brought an action which is recorded in the archives of the Middlesex County, Massachusetts, court.

At a County Court held at Charlestown June 19, 1677, Mr. John Hayward attorney in behalf of the Commissioners of the United Colonies plaintiff against Jonathan Cane, executor to the last will and testament of Ruth Johnson, administratrix to the estate of her husband Marmaduke Johnson deceased, in an action of the case for detaining a font of letters, bought by the said Johnson with money that he received for that end and use of the Honorable Corporation in London constituted by his Majesty for propagating of the gospel to the Indians in New England, and also for detaining of a printer's chace, and other implements that belong to a printing press, and is appertaining to the said Indian stock, according to attachment dated 8,4,77 [June 8]. Both parties appeared and joined issue in the case. The jury having heard their respective pleas and evidence in the case, brought in their verdict, finding for the plaintiff that the defendant shall deliver the weight of letters expressed in the attachment, with other materials expressed in the attachment, or the value thereof in money, which we find to be forty pounds, with costs of court. The defendant made his appeal to the next Court of Assistants.

On September 4 the Assistants or Magistrates of the Governor's Council "found for the defendant confirmation of the former judgement and cost of Courts thirty seven shillings and eight pence." The eleven weeks' postponement of the decision would have given Foster and his backers time to send abroad for replacements for the type and implements at issue. They may have decided that the used stock was not worth the appraised value, inasmuch as Foster's printing in 1678 appears to be in a new type.

Even if Green in September 1677 obtained the type that had been used by Johnson since 1665, his actions are not likely to have made friends of the men who had work to do and money to pay for it. There is noth-

ing to show that Foster, with new type in his cases, was seriously bothered. The colony seal used by him is on a proclamation of March 29 "forbidding the buying and keeping of Indians" captives from the late war, while the Cambridge seal is on an order against horse racing issued by the Council on April 9 as well as on SEVERAL LAWS AND ORDERS of the General Court which met May 23. Foster did "Sundry Laws wherein the Duty of Tything Men is Expressed," as well as the Several Laws and Orders of the session that met October 10, and an Order against firing guns in towns, dated March 28, 1678. Green's seal is on a PROCLAMATION OF A DAY OF HUMILIATION AND PRAYER dated May 8, 1678, and on another of August 22 accounting for money raised from the public for the redemption of captives taken by the Indians. The Cambridge seal is not found again until after Green's son, who succeeded to Foster's business in 1681, lost his Boston shop by fire in 1690.

In the midwinter of 1677/8 Green printed for Urian Oakes, Harvard's second presidential versifier, an ELEGIE upon the death of his brother-in-law, the second Thomas Shepard. His grief overflowed the customary single folio page devoted to similar tributes, and its fifty-two verses, with five more for a preliminary Address to the Reader, occupy sixteen pages. The title is less informing than the heading on page 3:

An Elegie Upon that Reverend, Learned, Eminently Pious, and Singularly Accomplished Divine, my ever Honoured Brother Mr. Thomas Shepard, The late Faithful and Worthy Teacher of the Church of Christ at Charlestown in New-England. Who finished his Course on Earth, and went to receive his Crown, December 22, 1677. In the 43d Year of his Age

Oh! that I were a Poet now in grain!
How would I invoke the Muses all
To deign their presence, lend their flowing Vein,
And help to grace dear *Shepard's* Funeral!—
How would I paint our griefs, and succours borrow
From Art and Fancy, to limn out our sorrow!

There is equal feeling in the first verse To the Reader:

Reader! I am no Poet: but I grieve!
Behold here, what that passion can do!
That forc'd a verse, without Appolo's leave,
And whether th'Learned Sisters would or no.
My Griefs can hardly speak: my sobbing Muse
In broken terms our sad bereavement rues.

It was earlier, perhaps midsummer of 1677, that the Greens, father and son, joined their names in the imprint of John Wilson's last sermon which had been preached a dozen years before:

A SEASONABLE WATCH-WORD UNTO CHRISTIANS Against the Dreams & Dreamers Of this Generation: Delivered in a Sermon November 16th, 1665. And being the last Lecture, which was Preached By that Reverend, Faithful and Eminent Man of God Mr. John Wilson, Sometime Pastor of the Church of Christ in Boston in New-England . . . Cambridg: Printed by S. Green & S. Green 1677.

In the prefatory remarks by Thomas Thacher dated 22.5. (July) 1677 he explains the reasons for printing this sermon after so long an interval:

There being too too many filthy Dreamers crept in among us, who by their filthy Dreams Blaspheme that worthy Name whereby we are called (as Edward Burrows in his Preface to George Fox's Mystery) and some of them called and known under the name of Quakers having (even of their women) been acted in a most beastly, shameful and horrid manner . . . [this sermon] was taken from his mouth in Characters by the pen of a ready and judicious writer, and hath been compared and found faithful by myself also who took it in Characters.

President Oakes' ELEGIE on Shepard is in James Frothingham Hunnewell's *Elegies and Epitaphs 1677-1717*, Boston, The Club of Odd Volumes, 1896. This is the fourth of that Club's series of Early American (printed) Poetry which foreshadowed the later realization that there were neat and handy versifiers in seventeenth-century New England. After the publication of the illustrations brought to light by Professor Jantz of Princeton it is unlikely that loyal Harvard authors will hail Oakes' bewailings as "the highest point touched by colonial poetry between the death of Anne Bradstreet and the American Revolution."

THE BOSTON PRESS

The second Samuel Green, born in 1648, married the daughter of Richard Butler of Hartford, where the young couple settled with a view to introducing the craft in which he had been brought up. This up-river town proved to be less promising than one with a thriving shipping business, so they moved to New London, remaining there until the autumn of 1681. Then he was induced to return to Boston to work for Samuel Sewall, who represented a coterie of local gentlemen. Foster had died on September 9, 1681, and on October 12 the General Court voted:

Mr. Samuel Sewall, at the instance of some friends, with respect to the accommodations of the public, being prevailed with to undertake the management of

the printing press in Boston late under the improvement of Mr. John Foster, deceased, liberty is accordingly granted to him for the same by this Court, and none may presume to set up any other press without a like liberty first granted.

Samuel Abbott Green's list of *Early American Imprints* in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1895 described copies of two titles which prove that one of them was the first that was produced under Sewall's management. Probabilities favor the one entitled:

Ne Sutor ultra Crepidam. Or brief Animadversions upon the New-England Anabaptists late fallacious Narrative; wherein the Notorious Mistakes and Falsehoods by them Published are Detected. By Samuel Willard Teacher of a Church in Boston in New-England. Boston in New-England, Printed by S. Green upon Assignment of S. Sewall. And are to be Sold by Sam. Phillips, at the West end of the Exchange, 1681.

On the upper margin of the title of this copy of the 35-page tract, which is again described in a Goodspeed Bookshop *Catalogue of Books from the Library of Matt B. Jones* issued in 1941, is written "Andr. Belcher the Gift of Mr. Samll Greene Decr. 1681." The loss of the last digit leaves it uncertain whether the printer gave this copy when it was fresh off the press, but this is probable. The inscription undoubtedly proves that there had been no delay in printing this reply to a reply by a Woburn shoemaker, John Russel, to Increase Mather's *Divine Right to Infant Baptism*, which had been printed by Foster early in 1680. No copy of Russel's *Brief Narrative* has been located, so there is no telling, if it told, how far he had to go to find a printer who would do it for him. It is not impossible that there was at this time another printing outfit in one of the other seaport towns on the Bay, on Long Island Sound, or on Manhattan Island of which no trace has survived, at which a controversial Baptist tract could have been printed. The desire to get out Mr. Willard's *Brief Animadversions* on the cobbler without delay may have hastened the steps taken to keep a printing shop in Boston.

A more interesting survival of the recovery by the Green family of a monopoly of authorized printing in the colony is a copy that is still at the Massachusetts Historical Society Library of:

UNITUS LABOR MULTORUM LABOREM ALLOCAT An Ephemeris of Coelestial Motions, Aspects, Eclipses, &c. For the Year of the Christian Aera 1682. By W. Brattle. Cambridge Printed by Samuel Green 1682.

The well-to-do young Mr. William Brattle, whose family name is preserved on streets in both Boston and Cambridge, took his first degree

in 1677 and proceeded to the M.A. on August 10, 1680. It would not be surprising if he was one of the friends who prevailed upon Sewall to undertake the oversight of the Boston press and backed the enterprise by contributing to the cost of purchasing the equipment that was in Foster's possession. If Foster had to borrow money before opening his shop in the first place, Brattle as well as Sewall would have been among those who were likely to have accommodated him.

At the bottom of the title of the Massachusetts Historical Society copy of Brattle's almanac is written in Sewall's hand "Ex dono Authoris Jany. 30. 1681." On the last page, which would otherwise have been blank, was placed evidence that two broadsides otherwise unknown had appeared probably after Willard's tract:

ADVERTISEMENT

There are suitable Verses Dedicated to the Memory of the Ingenious Mathematician and Printer Mr. John Foster. Price 2d a single Paper, both together 3d.

These could have been printed together on a single full sheet, to be divided for sale separately. A second paragraph in the advertisement announcing that a Children's Psalter would shortly be printed is quoted in the preceding chapter. Below this is another note in Sewall's hand; "The last half sheet was Printed with my Letters, at Boston. S. S." There is visible confirmation of this statement. The first sixteen pages of the almanac were undoubtedly printed on a full sheet which was divided into two unmarked halves for sewing. These contain the title leaf, the twelve months on six leaves, and two text pages headed "An Explanation of the Preceeding Ephemeris fitted to the Meridian of their Pates whose Poles are least Elevated, Longitude little or none." This Explanation is completed on pages 3 to 9, a half-sheet of four leaves marked C. These seven pages with the above Advertisement on the eighth are in a different and much sharper, i.e. newer, type giving an impression in striking contrast to that on the pages printed at Cambridge.

Samuel Sewall gave up the idea of going into the ministry and set himself to master the intricacies of finance and the care of a wife's estate when he was taken in marriage by Judith Hull, the daughter of the mint master, who set eyes on him (as she herself confessed) while he was a student at Harvard. Father Hull died on October 1, 1683 and on November 7 Sewall was elected a Deputy to the General Court by the town of Westfield to fill the vacancy caused by Hull's death. At the next

year's election he was chosen Assistant of the Governor's Council in his late father-in-law's place. On October 16, 1683, the General Court ordered the treasurer to pay Sewall for printing Mr. Torrey's Election Sermon for that year, and this was followed shortly by:

The High Esteem which God hath of the Death of his Saints. As it was Delivered in a Sermon Preached October 7, 1683. Occasioned by the Death of the Worshipful John Hull Esq . . . By Samuel Willard Teacher of a Church in Boston. Boston in New England, Printed by Samuel Green for Samuel Sewall: 1683.

A year later, on September 12, 1684, the General Court voted that: whereas by the providence of God, Mr. Samuel Sewall is rendered unable to attend the same, he judging it reasonable to acquaint this honoured Court therewith, desiring that he may be freed from any obligation respecting that affair, with thankful acknowledgments of the liberty then granted . . . The Court grants the request above mentioned.

JOHN ELIOT'S TROUBLES

When the two Dutch travelers called on John Eliot on July 8, 1680, he showed them a fragmentary copy of the first edition of the INDIAN BIBLE and "some sheets of the New" Testament already reprinted. The first of the reprinted sheets included the title which is dated 1680, and the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew. Four months later, on November 4, Eliot reported to Robert Boyle that "we are at the 19th chapter of the Acts." This chapter begins and ends on the facing pages of signatures R and S, so that seventeen sheets had then been finished in more than as many weeks, inasmuch as the foreign visitors said that they saw "sheets." There were fifteen and a half sheets still to do to complete the New Testament. In the second edition there are none of the signs of pressure which activated the workmen who were engaged upon the first one, when they occasionally bettered their sheet-a-week schedule. It should have been possible to approximate this rate in 1680, when the type was set from a marked copy of the previous edition. In any case it serves as a gauge for the progress of the work. The Testament was followed by the Metrical Psalms, which was all that had been as yet authorized from London. These took twelve and a half sheets, making forty-five for this portion of the undertaking.

The New Testament, three-tenths of the whole Bible, should have been finished in the spring quarter of 1681, but on June 17 Eliot added a postscript to a letter to Boyle:

Major Gookins (who is my only cordial assistant) doth present his service to your honors wth this request, that the evil reports of the malevolent, taken up by the miscaryage of the worser sort, may be no stumbling block to your honors, for where is the people, where all are good?

The letter to which Major Gookin supplied the most informative adjunct refers to something that did not need to be stated because Boyle had written concerning it. Eliot wrote:

. . . that Fatherly and prudent Council wch you are pleased to give in the poynt of present toleration, wch counsel you propose wth such Fatherly care & love, yt it is without the least staine or touch of any byas. I have communicated your letter unto such as are concerned. Amos.5.13. the Prophet saith the prudent shall keepe silence . . . for my owne pt I keepe off from meddling in those matters. There is a time to be silent, & a time to speak. The Adversary seteth instruments on work to poyson o'r praying Indians wth that cruel & mercyllesse opinion of the Anabaptists, to instigate & instruct parents to thrust away theire owne children from Jesus Christ . . . Untill we have Bibles, we are not furnished to cary the Gospel unto ym for we have no means to cary religion thither, saving by the Scriptures. This very argument (beside all the rest wch are many & weighty) doth continually instigate my heart, to have the Bible printed.

I see yt the charge doth somewhat surmount, (by some accidental impediments) my expectation. But I beseech your honor let not that be so much as named to be an impediment of such a work. The Dutch Bible is a glorious work, & the charges of it are an honor to Religion. This work is small, as to humane work, but the charges of it, will be, (as the former impression wās) an honor unto the honorable Corporation. I know that a word from your honor will raise a contribution to such a work, yt will supersede all demurre about charges . . . The Lord put it into your hearts to make thorough work of it.

Eliot knew that he must prepare Boyle for an unpleasant surprise when he received the bill for printing the small portion of the whole Bible which had already been authorized and which "doth somewhat surmount my expectation" when he wrote on June 17, 1681. It was not until May 29, 1682 that the Commissioners notified Boyle that:

Our last to your Honr was Immediately upon the Rect of yors of October last, wherein we sent a Duplicate of our Letter and Accounts for the year 1681, as was desired, but forgot the charge of printing the New Testament, wch now can acquaint you amounts to £249:02:06. We went the best way to work we could, yet are perswaded, that if you shal be pleased to grant Mr Elliotts motion & expectation, for the printing of the Old Testament also, we may be able to do better, and contract the workmen cheaper.

This probably means that the accounts for the preceding twelve months were settled in September 1681, although the time of the Commissioners' meeting was no longer as regular as it had been before the Indian war. It does not explain why the bill for the printing was forgotten when the other accounts were made up to be sent to London, and omitted again when they were duplicated six months later, after receiving a reminder written in October. As nothing is said about paper, the statement may have covered everything except binding. If so, the 2,000 copies of this 45-sheet job cost just under £250, which figures 2½ shillings a copy to its sponsors and 12 shillings a sheet or 1½ shillings a page for the printer. If he supplied the paper this does not seem excessive considering the nature of the text and the small size of the type that was used. Twenty years earlier the same printer working with the same text and type, with the paper supplied by the customer, charged £4 a sheet for 1,500 copies of the first six sheets of the New Testament, or 10 shillings a page. As the work progressed the rate was cut to £3:10:00 for 1,000 copies. As explained in Chapter XII, the actual cost of the 1663 INDIAN BIBLE defies calculation.

The Commissioners broke the news to Boyle and went on through other business to a desire that "there may be a more abundant fruit of so great cost . . . And we pray the Good Lord of this Harvest, for all your great care and bounty in this, & all other such pious works, to lay up in store for you a reward of mercy in the Great Day." Boyle did not get around to answering this letter until October 13, 1682 when he wrote in the name of the Corporation:

As concerning Mr Elliot's request of haveing the Old Testamt alsoe printed in the Indian Language wee are not yet fully satisfied that it will answeare the end proposed . . .

REPRINTING THE BIBLE

The Apostle contributed a little "hasty venturing" to the prayers, patience, and entreaty that were required to overcome the obstructions which delayed the start of work on a new edition of the Old Testament. It was not until March 15, 1682/3 that he was able to write Boyle:

The great work that I travel [i.e. travail] about, is, the printing of the old testament, that they may have the whole bible. They have had the whole, in the first impression, and some of the old they still have, and know the worth and use of it; and therefore they are importunately desirous of the whole. I desire to

see it done before I die, and am so deep in years that I cannot expect to live long: besides, we have but one man (viz. the Indian printer) that is able to compose the sheets, and correct the press, with understanding.

For such reasons, so soon as I received the sum of near 40li for the bible work, I presently set the work on foot; and one tenth part, or near, is done: we are in Leviticus. I have added some part of my salary to keep up the work, and many more things I might add, as reasons of my urgency in this matter.

Leviticus filled five sheets, from signature L₄ to Q₄; the Old Testament took 106½ (A-Z, Aa-Zz, Aaa-Zzz, Aaaa-Zzzz, Aaaaa-Ooooo, in fours, and Ppppp₂). Eliot's "or near" a tenth of the Old Testament implies that work on Leviticus had barely begun. The ninety-odd sheets still to do would have taken nearly two years at a sheet-a-week schedule; it was 136 weeks later, October 23, 1685, when the Dedication to Boyle was dated, to be printed on a half-sheet with the title dated 1685. Three months after the letter quoted above Eliot wrote again on June 21, 1683:

Your hungry alums do still cry unto your honour for the milk of the word in the whole book of God, and for the bread of life, which they have fed upon in the whole bible, and are very thankful for what they have, and importunately desirous to enjoy the whole book of God . . . I shall depart joyfully, may I but leave the bible among them, for it is the word of life; and there be some godly souls among them, that live thereby. The work is under great incumbrments and discouragements.

There was time for him to have heard from Boyle, who had written on September 8, before Eliot's next letter that survives, dated November 27, 1683:

Although my hasty venturing to begin the impression of the old testament before I had your honour's fiat may have moved (as some intimate) some disgust, yet I see that your love, bounty and charity, doth still breath out encouragement unto the work, by supplies of 460li. unto the work, for which I do return my humble thankfulness to your honour and take boldness to intreat favour for two requests. First, I pray, that you would please to accept an apology for my haste. I am deep in years, and sundry say, if I do not procure it printed while I live, it is not within the prospect of human reason, whether ever, or when, or how, it may be accomplished. . . . My second humble request is, that you would please to draw a curtain of love over all my failures, because love will cover a multitude of transgressions. The work goeth on now, with more comfort, though we have had many impediments, partly by sickness of the workmen, for it is a very sickly and mortal time with us, as also the rigour of the winter doth now obstruct us. The work goeth on, I praise God; the

sabbath is sanctified in many places, and they have still fragments of their old bibles, which they make constant use of.

The Commissioners could not reply to Boyle's letter of September 8 until they met on March 1, 1683/4:

your order for going on with the work so much desired and a good while since entered upon by good Mr Eliot, the making a new impression of the Old Testament also in the Indian tongue, which accordingly we have attended & made considerable payments further towards the same, so that it is at this time in a good forwardness, and we shall hasten it and be frugal in the Expenses of it as much as may be. . . .

Your Stock in this Country (£3342:03:00) was lately a greater summe but Mr Elliots extreame urgency after he had wholly taken upon himselfe to begin the work of Printing prevailed with us to call in seventy pounds he engaging the payment thereof himself in case your allowance could not finally be obtained. . . .

Eliot must also have written not long after the date of the above letter, for the archives of the New England Company preserved an impressive example of the way the Natick Indians had responded to the efforts to Anglicize them. This is a letter to Eliot signed by seven natives who wrote their names and by the marks of nine others. It does not state who composed it, but a brief sample will offer a suggestion:

God hath made you to us and our nation a spiritual father, we are inexpressably ingaged to you for your faithful constant Indefatigable labours, care and love . . . whereas you are now grown aged, soe that we are deprived of seeing your face and hearing your voice (especially in the winter season) . . . Mr Gookin . . . preacheth to us in the English tongue, which al doe not fully understand, but some learn a litle and desire to know more of it, but ther being a wel spoken and Inteligent interpreter of our own Country men, who being the day before instructed and informed by Mr Gookin in ye matter to be delivered, is prompt and ready to interpret . . . which practice as we understand is approved of in Scripture as in the primitive times as in 1. Corinthians 14.27.28 . . . Unto this Lecture many Englishmen and women of ye neighbourhood doe resort . . .

Therefore Dear Sir our humble request unto you is that you wil improve your best interest with and in the right Honble Govr & Corporation for propagating the Gospel in America, Residing at London, that they would please to write effectually unto their Commissioners in New England to incourage this our worthy Minister . . . the Commissioners allow him but 10li p. Annum, but we hope those most noble pious and worthy patriots in England, of whose

Goodness and benifcence we have often tasted . . . wil encourage this work as well as others . . .

The result of these last two communications was a remarkable letter from the Corporation dated 26 September 1684, in which there is not a single word about the Deity or anything having to do with him:

Your Letter of the First of March . . . we have receaved but are a little surprized . . . that the profit and improvevt [of the Stock] is soe small.

Wee desire that you will for the future . . . perticularly expresse in whose hands the severall somes of money by us remitted . . . shall from time to time be. . .

Wee doe finde that it will be necessarie for the satisfaccon of some misinformed persons that there may be as exact an accompt as can be taken . . . the number of all the Indian Converts amongst you, both men & woemen.

Wee alsoe desire to know how far Mr Elliot hath proceeded in printing the Bible in the Indian Language, & that 12 Coppies of the Pentateuch be likewise sent on to us. . .

We cease to give you any further trouble at this time.

William Stoughton, now head of the Commissioners, passed these questions along to Eliot, who replied to Boyle on April 22, 1684:

The last gift of 400li for the reimpression of the Indian Bible doth set a diadem of beauty upon all your former acts of pious charity, and commandeth us to return unto your honours all thankful acknowledgments, according to our abilities. It pleased the worshipful Mr Stoughton, to give me an intimation, that your honours desired to know the particular present estate of the praying Indians; as also, when Moses pentateuch is printed, to have some copies sent over, to evidence the real and good progress of the work . . .

As for the sending any numbers of Moses Pentateuch, I beseech your honours to spare us in that; because so many as we send, so many bibles are maimed, and made incomplete, because they want the five books of Moses. We present your honours with one book, so far as we have gone in the work, and humbly beseech, that it may be acceptable, until the whole be finished; and then, the whole impression (which is two thousand) is at your honours command. Our slow progress needeth an apology. We have been much hindered by the sickness this year. Our workmen have been all sick, and we have but few hands, one Englishman, and a boy, and one Indian; and many interruptions and diversions do befall us; and we could do but little this very hard winter.

That the printers in 1680-85 worked from a marked copy of the earlier impression is shown by the fact that John Cotton's attention faltered

while listening to his reader, for he failed to catch the omission of three words in the Epistle of James, I.26. These were detected in time to provide an erratum on the back of the last printed leaf of the Old Testament.

A dedicatory address to Boyle was signed by Stoughton and three other Commissioners on October 23, 1685, marking the date when the book had been completed. This was printed on a single leaf and inserted in the copies sent abroad for presentation.

THE WIGWAM BOOKSHELF

Samuel Sewall, who was to become the overseer of the Indian missionary work for many years, wrote late in the winter of 1685/6, in a letter dated February 15, that Eliot "hath procured a second edition of the Bible in the Indian language, so that many Hundreds of them may read the Scriptures." The next summer the bookseller John Dunton, in one of the passages in his *Life and Errors* which seems to preserve an actual occurrence, tells of visiting Eliot who "presented me with twelve Bibles . . . as also with twelve 'Speeches of Converted Indians' which himself hath published." Eliot wrote to Boyle on August 29, 1686 "the Bible is come forth, many hundreds bound up and dispersed to the Indians, whose thankfulness I intimate and testify to your honour." The records of the Commissioners, which might have told how many Bibles were bound, have almost completely disappeared for this period.

Boyle contributed £900 to pay for the printing of the second BIBLE. This would have provided nine shillings a copy for an edition of two thousand copies of 1,220 pages each. This works out at roughly a farthing a sheet for the whole impression, which seems not unreasonable with the greater value of the remittances in sterling partially offsetting the higher cost of everything in the colony. It may be also that the BIBLE was not the only thing that the Apostle got with this widower's mite, for he had other printing done for the natives during this half-decade, and there is nothing to show where the money came from to pay for these.

There are indications which confirm Eliot's statement that the type was set and the press corrected by the native James Printer. A new edition of Baily's PRACTICE probably followed the BIBLE. Its title is dated 1685 but in his letter of August 29, five months after that year ended, Eliot reported that "The Practice of Piety is also finished and beginneth to be bound up." It is a small octavo of 335 pages, 20 sheets, which should have kept the Indian compositor and proof reader busy for a few months.

Next in order was probably a new issue of the PRIMER, for the same letter added:

My humble request to your honour is, that we may again reimpose the primer and catechism; for though the last impression be not quite spent, yet quickly they will; and I am old, ready to be gone, and desire to leave as many books as I can.

The Westminster Assembly's catechisms, both long and shorter, were in the INDIAN PRIMER of 1669, and each may have been issued by itself. It is likewise probable that during this later period an Indian version of William Perkins' *Foundation of the Christian Religion gathered into Six Principles* was provided for the use of converts. Increase Mather wrote a letter to Professor Leusden of Utrecht dated July 12, 1687 *De Successu Evangelij Apud Indos*, which was printed in Latin and English, French and German, and perhaps Indian, within the next dozen years. It states that "many of the Indian children had learned by heart the catechism, either of that famous divine, William Perkins, or that put forth by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster."

A new edition of Richard Baxter's CALL TO THE UNCONVERTED was "Printed by S. G. for the Corporation in London for the Indians in New England 1688." It filled 12 sheets, 188 small octavo pages. This was followed by the last of Eliot's translations to be printed:

SAMPWUTTEAHAE QUINNUPPEKOMPAUAENIN . . . Thomas Shephard
Quinnuppenumun en Indiane Unnontoowaonganit nashpe Ne Quttianatamwe
wuttinneumoh Christ Noh assoowesit John Eliot . . . Nashpe Grindal Rawson.
Cambridge. Printed by Samuel Green, in the Year, 1689.

It is a small octavo of 10½ sheets, 161 pages of text. Eliot, who had almost finished translating it by August 25, 1664, next mentions it in the extant letters on July 7, 1688, when he tells of the help he received from John Cotton of Plymouth and continues:

also I must commit to him the care and labour of the revisal of two other small treatises, viz. Mr. Shephard's Sincere Convert and Sound Believer, which I translated into the Indian language many years since; and now I hope the honourable corporation will be at the charge to print them, by your honour's favor and countenance. But I cannot commit them to the press without a careful revisal, which none but Mr. Cotton is able to help me to perform.

The title page shows that the revision was entrusted to Grindal Rawson of Mendon, a settlement nearer than Plymouth to the Natick village.

The Apostle to the Indians died on May 21, 1690. The next year the latest of his collaborators took up the task of providing fresh reading matter for the natives by bringing out a translation of the elder John Cotton's *SPIRITUAL MILK FOR BABES*:

NASHAUANITTUE MENINNUNK WUTCH MUKKIESOG. . . . ut Englishmanne Unnontoowaonganit. . . . Noh asoowesit John Cotton. . . . Nashpe Grindal Rawson. . . . Cambridge: Printeuoop nashpe Samuel Green, kah Bartholomew Green. 1691.

This is a small octavo of 13 pages of questions and answers.

THE END

Samuel the son of Bartholomew Green of Cambridge in New England was about thirty-five years old in 1649 when he was placed in charge of the printing shop under President Dunster's roof in the Harvard Yard. It was still in his charge under College ownership forty years later. Two of his sons had grown up to the craft and had given their father much help.

In June 1684 the royal authorities in England declared the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company forfeited; in February 1685 James Stuart, Duke of York became King James II; in September Joseph Dudley was commissioned President for New England; on April 18, 1689 the King's Governor General, Sir Edmond Andros, was deposed by an uprising of the Boston populace; in October 1691 William and Mary gave Massachusetts a new charter which made a royal province out of what had been the Massachusetts Bay Company. These and many other happenings are reflected in the output of the Boston Press during these years; they left barely a smudge on the printing done at Cambridge. Except for the Indian work which it monopolized because it had the Corporation's type, there was little for it to do and that little originated in the College. The Commencement *THESES* and *QUAESTIONES* were handed about on each midsummer anniversary. Each winter a recent graduate provided the copy for the next year's almanac, providing likewise a subject that awaits adequate treatment by a Harvard historian.

There were two impressions of the *CAMBRIDGE EPHEMERIS* for 1685 by William Williams of the class of 1683, one "Printed by Samuel Green" and the other by Green "for Samuel Phillips." The distinction may have meant no more than the time it took to insert the Boston bookseller's name while the pressmen rested. There is no telling whether

Phillips bought an exclusive right to the Boston market when he arranged to have his name printed on the copies he ordered.

The initials S. D. are on the title of the almanac for the next year with the imprint "Printed by Samuel Green Senr. Printer to Harvard Colledge in New-England. A.D. 1686." The printer had to distinguish himself because another almanac for this year came out from "Boston. Printed by Samuel Green." There are also variant issues for this year's Cambridge almanacs and they present an insoluble bibliographical puzzle with which to leave these investigations. They seem to have been printed nearly three months apart and it is certain which one must be of the later date but the other ought not to be earlier. Judge Sewall of the Harvard Corporation noted in his diary for November 12, 1685 "New Almanack comes out this Day intituled New-England's Almanack, by Mr. Danforth," who was another graduate of 1683. The Massachusetts Historical Society has kept two copies of this almanac with identical title pages, on one of which is a memorandum in Sewall's handwriting "Deliver'd me per ye Govr Jany 21. 1685/6. Sent it seems by ye Author" who was a near neighbor of Governor Dudley in Brookline.

It must be assumed that the copy presented by the author in January was a new impression, and that the other, as it differs, should be the one of which Sewall learned when he was at Cambridge in November. Danforth, an advanced student about to receive his second degree, provided reading matter to fill a few lines at the bottom of the pages containing the calendar data, and this text was reset, and changed, when the almanac was reprinted. It consists of "A Memorial of some Remarkable Occurrences in N. E." and in the copy dated by Sewall in January several of the statements contain errors that are correct in the other. Under September is the line:

1683. March. 13. Major Clerke Esq. dyed

The other names him as Major Thomas Clarke Esq.

Under December is:

Mr. John Collins, Past. of ye Ch. at Midltown, dyes

The other names him correctly as Nath. In both, this line for January 1684 is misplaced between March and September. Likewise out of place in both, under the wrong year and with the wrong date, is the line which was moved from the bottom to the top of the entries under 1685:

Apr. 22. King James II. Proclaimed in Boston.

Below May in Sewall's January copy a statement is corrected which in the other reads:

From the planting of the Three United Colonies in N. E. till the year 1679 Have dyed Twenty-seven sustayning office in our Common Wealths. 7 Governors: 2 Deputy Governours: eight Assistants.

At the bottom of the last page the latest news was crowded in, showing that the inside form had gone to press first, as in this issue February, the twelfth month, was printed on the recto of the last leaf instead of being on a verso as was usual:

Since the impression for February, wee hear of the deplorable decease of the Rd & Aged Mr. Thomas Cobbet Minister at Ipswich and of the Rd. Mr. Nathaniel Chauncy Minister at Hatfield.

The ALMANACK for 1687 was "Printed by S. G. Colledge Printer." In 1688 Sewall made a note that there was "No Cambridge Almanack this year" without telling why. For 1690 Henry Newman of the class of 1687 prepared NON CESSANT ANNI. HARVARD'S EPHEMERIS. In September of this year the shop which the sons of Samuel Green had operated in Boston was burned, and for the next two years the Cambridge shop printed the almanacs prepared by a professional, John Tulley, who had been connected with the Boston shop. That for 1691 was "Printed by Samuel Green, and Bartholomew Green. And are to be sold by Nicholas Buttolph, at Gutteridge's Coffee-House in Boston." There is another issue of this in whose imprint the son has only his initial B. The next year it was "Printed by Samuel Green, & Bartholomew Green, for Samuel Phillips, and are to be Sold at his Shop at the West end of the Exchange in Boston." If other copies of any of these were to come to light, they might bring with them variant imprints or as puzzling differences as the two copies of 1686.

Old acquaintanceship or an inbred dislike of change may have taken to Cambridge for printing the revised edition of the Plymouth GENERAL LAWS dated 1685, the last important work done at the Press. In the late autumn of the next year Cotton Mather had a confidential interview, probably with Bartholomew, the younger brother of Samuel Green, junior, who was now helping their father at Cambridge. It is believed that this bore fruit early in December when a small octavo pamphlet of 16 leaves was "spread and scattered up and down the country" according to one of the angry replies circulated in similar fashion by the furious royal-

ist appointees who were attempting to force the New Englanders to profane the Holy Bible by placing their hands on it when required to take an oath concerning earthly matters. The worn type and careless press-work is the only clue to the typographic origin of this anonymous tract:

A BRIEF DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE UNLAWFULNESS OF THE COMMON PRAYER WORSHIP. And of Laying the Hand on, and Kissing the Book in Swearing, By a Reverend and Learned Divine. . . . Printed in the Year. &c.

The author was almost certainly Increase Mather, who was then in England acting as agent for the displaced colonial government officials. It had been written three years earlier under circumstances explained in Thomas J. Holmes's *Increase Mather Bibliography*. The initials T.P. signed to the prefatory To the Reader are not likely to be those of anyone concerned with its publication.

In 1688 even the College failed the Press, for there was nobody prepared to graduate at Commencement, so there was only the skimpy *QUAESTIONES* for the third-year graduates to be printed. The only other thing that survives from these years that can with probability be credited to the Press is a broadside sheet signed "*Sic maestus cecivit*. Nehemiah Walter" and headed

AN ELEGIAC VERSE. On the Death of the Pious and Profound Grammarian, Mr. Elijah Corlet, Schoolmaster of Cambridge, who Deceased Anno Aetatis 77. Feb. 24. 1687.

The younger Samuel Green died of the smallpox in July 1690, and his brother Bartholomew, who had been working at the Cambridge shop, went across the river to take charge of the business Samuel had built up. On September 16 the Boston shop was destroyed by a fire in the neighborhood. Bartholomew returned to Cambridge, doubtless taking with him any orders that may have been in hand. This would explain the imprint on a possible Cambridge product:

Howell's Predictions: Of many Remarkable things, which may Probably Come to Pass, from the Year 1689. Until the Year 1700. Written 1682. Printed by S. G. for Benjamin Harris, at the London Coffee House at Boston. 1690.

It is a single sheet folded to small octavo with 14 text pages. There is a catchword "Of" at the bottom of the last page but this may not mean that the only recorded copy, at the American Antiquarian Society, is imperfect; it is as likely to be a hint that the possessor might continue his own predictions beyond the year 1700 which is on that last page.

On the last page of the 1692 Cambridge almanac is an advertisement:

There may speedily be Published a little Book, Entituled Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion.

By a Reverend Divine of Boston.

THE ORNAMENTS was the last thing printed at the seventeenth-century Cambridge Press. It was the second of two of Cotton Mather's writings printed there in its last two years. It would be hazardous to venture a guess why these two, of the twelve separate publications from his pen that saw the light of print in 1691 and 1692, were given to the Cambridge printers. Cotton Mather spread his patronage, and this may have been the share of the Greens. The booksellers may have been concerned, for the Mathers were good as well as opinionated customers and neither the shopkeepers nor the craftsmen would have cared to risk alienating them. The first of the Cambridge pair was:

THINGS TO BE LOOK'T FOR. Discourses On the Glorious Characters, With Conjectures on the Speedy Approaches of that State, Which is Reserved for the Church of God in the Latter Dayes. Together with an Inculcation of Several Duties, which the Undoubted Characters and Approaches of that State, Invite us unto; Delivered unto the Artillery Company of the Massachusetts Colony: New England; Printed by Samuel Green, & Barth. Green, for Nicholas Buttolph, at Gutteridge's Coffee-House, in Boston. 1691.

One of the three recorded copies, at the John Carter Brown Library, is in its original sheepskin binding and has, pasted on the inside of the front cover, a single leaf that was printed after the book was finished, with thirteen lines of errata below an Advertisement requesting that:

When the Reader is perusing Several Pages of this Book . . . it is desired that he would at the same time lay before him those Chapters of the Bible which he finds there Explained; it being otherwise impossible that he should presently Comprehend the Reasons of the Things and the Terms there offered by the Author.

It is likewise desired that he would be so just, not only to the Book, but also to Himself, as to Correct the following Errata.

This sermon to the artillerymen on their election day expounds passages in Revelation concerning the Second Coming of Christ. The author did, however, diverge to picture to his hearers those "that in their time have taken a Million Prisoners, and made more than a Million Carcases . . . There is like to be Peace in the Last Dayes, because the great Incen-

diaries of the World, will be taken out of the way. As now, Tis the Divel that is the Make-hate of the World."

Mather's other Cambridge tract was a little twelvemo of 106 pages, 8¼ sheets folded to sixes. It was for sale at the same shop as the almanac in which it was announced, but its primary use was as a pocket piece for the author when he made his rounds of parish calls, to leave as a parting gift. He entitled it:

ORNAMENTS FOR THE DAUGHTERS OF ZION. Or The Character and Happiness of a Virtuous Woman: in A Discourse Which Directs The Female-Sex how to Express, The Fear of God, in every Age and State of their Life; and Obtain both Temporal and Eternal Blessedness. Cambridge: Printed by S. G. & B. G. for Samuel Phillips at Boston. 1691.

Only one of the seven recorded copies is dated 1691; the others have 1692. It presumably went to press a while after the almanac, and soon after the title form was put on the press it was decided to give it the date of the coming, if not already arrived, year.

Nothing more is known to have been printed at the Cambridge Press. It may have produced the programs for the 1692 Commencement which was held on July 6. Bartholomew Green procured fresh type with which he began business anew in Boston. The old stock presumably remained in the Indian College until this building, already evacuated, was torn down in 1695. One or both of the presses may have been taken to Boston by Bartholomew. If the old type was removed to a place where they could get at it, stranger things have happened than that the college boys amused themselves with it, producing some of the book labels which were printed somewhere during the next two or three decades, as described in Chapter 111 of this bibliographical exposition.

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APPENDIX A

A COMPARISON OF THE TEXT OF THE BAY PSALM BOOK OF 1640 AND THE REVISED NEW ENGLAND PSALMS OF 1648

☞ A portion of the text of the first three and the last three Psalms, as printed in the BAY PSALM BOOK of 1640, is in the left-hand column below. The right-hand column gives the variations which appear in the revised edition adopted in 1648 and repeatedly reprinted as the NEW ENGLAND PSALMS during the ensuing century. These illustrate statements made in Chapter III of this narrative.

☞ Lines marked . . . in the right-hand column repeat the wording of the 1640 version, although these lines sometimes give a modernized spelling and punctuation. When the punctuation at the end of these lines is altered, this is sometimes, but not always, shown. The asterisks which appear in some of these lines occur in the 1648(?) and many subsequent editions, to mark the passages selected for the alternative renderings reprinted in Appendix B.

BAY PSALM BOOK: 1640

PSAL. I

O Blessed man, that in th' advice
of wicked doeth not walk:
nor stand in sinners way, nor sit
in chayre of scornfull folk.

2 But in the law of Iehovah,
is his longing delight:
and in his law doth meditate,
by day and eke by night.

3 And he shall be like to a tree
planted by water-rivers:
that in his season yeilds his fruit,
and his leafe never withers.

4 And all he doth, shall prosper well,
the wicked are not so:
but they are like unto the chaffe,
which winde drives to and fro.

NEW ENGLAND PSALMS: 1648

O Blessed man that walks not in
th'advice of wicked men
Nor standeth in the sinners way
nor scornors seat sits in.

But he upon Jehovah's law
doth set his whole delight:
. . .
Both in the day and night.

He shall be like a planted tree
by water brooks, which shall
In his due season yield his fruit.
whose leaf shall never fall:

. . .
. . .
. . .
. . . driven . . .

BAY PSALM BOOK: 1640

PSAL. II

Why rage the Heathen furiously?
 muse vaine things people do;

2 Kings of the earth doe set themselves,
Princes consult also:
with one consent against the Lord.
and his anoynted one.

3 Let us asunder break their bands,
their cords bee from us throwne.

4 Who sits in heav'n shall laugh, the lord
will mock them; then will he

5 Speak to them in his ire, and wrath:
and vex them suddenlie.

PSAL. III

**O Lord, how many are my foes?
how many up against me stand?**

2 Many say to my soule noe helpe
in God for him at any hand.

3 But thou Lord art my shield, my glory
and the-uplifter of my head,

4 with voyce to God I cal'd, who from
his holy hill me answered.

PSAL. CXLVIII

—FRom heav'n o praise the Lord:
him praise the heights within.

2 All's Angells praise afford,
all's Armies praise yee him.

3 O give him praise
Sun & Moone *bright*:
all Stars of light,
o give him praise.

4 Yee heav'ns of heav'ns him praise:
or'e heav's yee waters *clear*.

5 The Lords Name let them praise:
for hee spake, made they were.

NEW ENGLAND PSALMS: 1648

...
vain things the people muse;

• • •
and Princes plotting use.
• • •
against his Christ also.

and their cords from us throw.

He that in heaven sits shall laugh
the LORD deride them shall:

Then to them in his ire he'll speak,
in's wrath sore vex them all.

O Lord, my foes how great are they!

No help is to my soul, they say

My shield and glory yet art thou,
Lord, and th'up-lifter of my head.

I with my voyce to JAH call'd who
from's holy hill me answered. Selah.

• • • ,
• • • ,
• • • •

'Bove heav'ns ye waters clear.

BAY PSALM BOOK: 1640

PSAL. CXLIX

PRaise yee the Lord: unto the Lord
 doe yee sing a new song:
 & in the congregation
 his praise the Saints among.
 2 Let Israell now joyfull bee
 in him who him hath made:
 children of Sion in their King
 o let them be full glad.
 3 O let them with *melodious* flute
 his Name give praise unto:
 let them sing praises unto him
 with Timbrell, Harp also.

PSAL. CL

PRaise yee the Lord, praise God
 in's place of holines:
 o praise him in the firmament
 of his great mightines.
 2 O praise him for his acts
 that be magnificent:
 & praise yee him according to
 his greatnes excellent.
 3 With Trumpet praise yee him
 that gives a sound so hye:
 & doe yee praise him with the Harp,
 & sounding Psalterye.
 4 With Timbrell & with Flute
 praise unto him give yee:
 with Organs, & string'd instruments
 prais'd by you let him bee.
 5 Vpon the loude Cymballs
 unto him give yee praise:
 upon the Cimbals praise yee him
 which hye their sound doe raise.
 6 Let every thing to which
 the Lord doth breath afford
 the praises of the Lord set forth:
 o doe yee praise the Lord.

NEW ENGLAND PSALMS: 1648

Praise ye the Lord, sing to ye Lord
 a new melodious song:

. . .

. . .

O now let Israel joyfull be
 in him who hath him made:
 The sons of Sion in their King,
 O let them be right glad.

. . .

. . .

. . .

. . .

Praise Jah, praise God in's Sanctuary,

Praise him in his strong firmament.

2 Praise him in's works done mightily,

Praise him for's greatness excellent.

3 His praise with trumpets sound advance,

Praise him with Harp and Psalteries.

4 Praise him with Timbrel, and with dance,

Praise him with Organs, Lutes likewise.

5 Praise to him with loud Cymbals sing,

Praise him on Cymbals sounding high.

6 Praise let the Lord each breathing thing,

Praise ye the Lord Eternally.

Here endeth the Book of Psalms.

APPENDIX B

A FURTHER COMPARISON OF THE PSALMS OF 1640 AND 1648, WITH ALTERNATIVE RENDERINGS BY THE REVISERS

¶ The revised NEW ENGLAND PSALMS contains a preliminary list of suggestions of other renderings of the Hebrew text, as explained in Chapter III. All of these are reprinted in this Appendix, marked *Dunster-Lyon*, the names of the joint revisers. These are placed below the passages to which they pertain, as printed in 1640 and after 1648.

¶ The NEW ENGLAND PSALMS contained, before and following the text of the Psalms, a selection of Spiritual Songs which the editors adapted from other portions of the Bible. The alternative renderings of these Songs suggested in the preliminary list are printed at the beginning and end of this Appendix; the passages to which they refer are printed in Appendix C.

1640

DUNSTER-LYON

1648

Exod. 15. 1.

I to the LORD will sing, for he
triumph'd in glory so:
The horse he and his rider down
into the Sea did throw.

¶ This dropped out of the Boston editions, perhaps accidentally, before the end of the century.

Deut. 32. 19.

How should one chase a thousand, two
ten thousand put to flight!

¶ The verse number is wrong; it is found in other editions as "10" and "33." In the King James version it is verse 30.

PSAL. IV

4 Be stirred up, but doe not sinne,
consider seriouslie:
within your heart upon your bed;
and wholly silent be

. . .

. . .

Within your heart, with silence deep
when on your bed you ly.

Dunster-Lyon: Stand you in awe, and do not sin, &c.

1640

DUNSTER-LYON

1648

XI

3 If that the firme foundationes,
utterly ruin'd bee:
as for the man that righteous is,
what then performe can hee?

3* . . .
be wholly overthrown:
Yet for the man that righteous is
what is it, he hath done?

4 The Lord in's holy temple is,
the Lords throne in heaven:
his eyes will view, and his eye lids
will prove the Sonnes of men.

. . .
The Lord's throne's in the sky:
*His eyes will view, his eye-lids too
and sons of men will try.

Dunster-Lyon: If that the firm foundationes
shall wholly ruin'd be:
As for the man that righteous is
what then perform can he?

v. 4. His eies behold, and his eye lids
the sons of men do try.

XII

5 Thus saith the Lord, for sighs of them
that want, for poor opprest,
I'll now arise, from such as puffe,
will set him safe at rest.

5* . . .
. . .
I now will rise, from such as puff
at him, will give him rest.

Dunster-Lyon: Thus saith the LORD, for cry of poor,
I'll rise now him in safety set.
that boldly he may speak.

Or,
Thus saith the LORD, for poor mens cry,
for spoiling them that are.
The meek, I'll rise, now set him free
from him that would him snare.

XVII

13 Him, in his sight, rise, disappoynt
make him bow downe o Lord,
doe thou my soule deliver from
the wicked one, thy sword,

Arise, do thou his face prevent,

. . .

O set my soul at freedom from

. . .

14 From mortall men thine hand, o Lord,
from men that mortall are,
and of this passing-world, who have
within this life their share,
with thy hid treasure furthermore
whose belly thou fillest:
their sonnes are fil'd, & to their babes
of wealth they leave the rest.

14* From mortal man thy hand O Lord,

. . .

;

. . .

. . .

;

Thou with thine hidden treasure dost
their bellies fill also:

*Their sons are fill'd, their residue
they leave their babes unto.

Dunster-Lyon: The wicked by thy sword.

v. 14. From mortals by thy sword.

O LORD.

Their sons are fill'd, their excellence.

XXI

12 For thou wilt as a butt
them set; & thou wilt place
thine arrows ready on thy string.
full right against their face.

12* For thou shalt turn their back,
when ever thou shalt place

. . .

. . .

Dunster-Lyon: For them thou sett'st a butt.

XXII

(Title) To the chiefe musician upon *Aijelesh Shahar*
a psalme of David.

Dunster-Lyon: Title, concerning the morning hinde

1640

DUNSTER-LYON

1648

XXII

6 But I a worme, & not a man;
 of men an opprobrie,
 and also of the people am
 despis'd contemptuously.

6* . . .
 of men a very scorn:
 And I among the people am
 despised as forlorn.

*Dunster-Lyon: v. 6.1.2. of men a very shame:
 And I contemptuously despis'd
 among the people am.*

XXVII

13· *I should have fainted*, had not I
 believed for to see,
 Iehovahs goodnes in the land
 of them that living bee.

13* Which had o'recome me, but that I
 . . .
 . . .
 . . .

Dunster-Lyon: I should have fainted, but that I

XXIX

7 Gods voyce divides the flames of fire.
 8 Iehovahs voyce doth make
 the desert shake: the Lord doth cause
 the Cadesh-desart shake.

7 Jehovahs voice strikes flames of fire,
 . . .
 The desert shake: Jehovah makes
 the Kadesh desert shake.

9 The Lords voyce makes the hindes to calve.
 and makes the forrest bare:
 and in his temple every one
 his glory doth declare.

. . .
 . . .
 But his whole glory he within
 his Temple doth declare.

*Dunster-Lyon: Jehovahs voice parts flames of fire
 v.9. And in his Temple every one
 his glory doth declare.*

XXXIV

5 Him they beheld, & light'ned were,
 nor sham'd were their faces.
 6 This poore man cry'd, the Lord him heard,
 and freed from all distresse.

5* They look'd to him and lightned were,
 no shame did them appall.
 This poor man cry'd, the Lord did hea
 and sav'd from troubles all.

Dunster-Lyon: Psal. 34.5. and flowed near.

☞ The reference may be a misprint, or more probably a mistake in the manuscript.

xxxv

- 16 With hypocrites, mockers in feasts; 16* They, mocking parasites among,
 at me their teeth they gnashing were. In feasts do gnash their teeth at me.

Dunster-Lyon: The mocking hypocrites among.

xxxvii

- 40 Yea, help & free them will the Lord: . . .
 he shall deliver them . . .
 from wiced men, because that they . . . wicked
 doe put their trust in him. . . .

Dunster-Lyon: From wicked men them saye he shall
 because they trust in him.

¶ Doubtless *save* was intended, but *saye* persists in later editions.

xlv

- 5 Within the heart of the kings foes 5* Thine arrows sharp: the people they
 thine arrows piercing bee: shall fall down under thee:
 whereby the people overcome, Yea in ye heart (they shall fall down)
 shall fall downe under thee. foes to the King that be.

Dunster-Lyon: Thy shafts are sharp within their heart,
 foes to the king that be,
 Whereby the people overcome,
 shall fall down under thee.

li 1 meter.

- 17 The sacrifices of the Lord Of God the sacrifice,
 they are a broken sprite: A broken spirit, a contrite heart
 God, thou wilt not despise a heart God thou wilt not despise.
 that's broken, & contrite.

Dunster-Lyon: A contrite Spirit, broke contrite heart.

1640

DUNSTER-LYON

1648

LXVIII

27 There litle Benjamin the chief
with Iudahs Lords, & their
counsell, with Zebulons princes
and Naphtalies lords were.

There's little Benjamin their chief,
there Judahs Lords and there
Their counsel, Lords of Zebulon
and Naphtali there were

28 That valliant strength the which thou hast
thy God hath commanded;
strengthen o God, the thing which thou
for us hast effected.

The strength thou hast, ev'n by thy God
the same commanded was:
Confirm, O God, the thing which thou
for us hast brought to pass.

(4)

(5)

29 For thy house at Ierusalem
Kings shall bring gifts to thee.

. . .

. . .

30 Rebuke the troupes of spearmen, troupes
of bulls that mighty bee:
With peoples calves, with him that stoops
with peeces of silvar:
o scatter thou the people that
delight themselves in war.

. . . troops

. . .

With peoples calves, & him that doth
with silver pieces bow.
The people that themselves delight
in war, O scatter thou.

31 Princes shall out of Egypt come,
& Ethiopias land
shall speedily unto the Lord
reach her out-streched hand.

31* From Egypt there shall princes come
and th'Ethiopians land

. . .

. . .

Dunster-Lyon: 27. And Naphth'lies Lords there were.
v. 31. From Egypt shall come messengers.

LXXVII

10 Then did I say, within my selfe,
tis mine infirmity:
the yeares of the right hand I will
think on of the most high.

10* Then said I this my weakness is,
yet to remembrance I
Will call the years of the right hand
of him that is most high.

Dunster-Lyon: Then in my self I said should this
cause mine infirmity:
That changed now the right hand is
of him that is most high.

CVI

- 45 And he did to remembrance call . . .
 for them his Covenant: . . .
 And in his many mercies did And in his many mercie did
 46 repent. And made them bee . . .
 pitty'd of all that led them forth . . .
 into captivitee. . . .

Dunster-Lyon: And in's much mercies did repent.
 and made them pity'd be
 Of all those that did carry them
 into captivitie.

CXVI

- 1 I love the Lord, because he doth I*Love, because Jehovah doth
 my voice & prayer heare. . . .
 2 And in my dayes will call, because . . .
 he bow'd to mee his care. . . .

Dunster-Lyon: I love ye LORD, because he doth, &c.

CXIX

The first Meeter

- 7 (4) Daleth 4 D
 25 Downe to the dust my soule cleav's fast: . .
 o quicken mee after thy word. . . .
 30 The way of truth I chosen have: The way of truth my choice Imake,
 thy judgements 'fore mee layd have I. . . .

The second Meeter for common Tunes.

- 4 Daleth
 25 Down to the dust my soul cleaved fast:
 revive me by thy Word.
 30 The way of truth my choice I make:
 thy judgements spread I have.

Dunster-Lyon: Psal. 119. 30. 2 meter.
 thy judgements view'd I have.

1640

DUNSTER-LYON

1648

CXLV

9 The Lord is good to all: or'e all
his works his mercies bee.

10 All thy works shall praise thee o Lord:
& thy Saints shall blesse thee.

The Lord is good to all, on all
his works, his tenderness.

Thee all thy works shall praise O Lord
and thee thy Saints shall bless.

Dunster-Lyon: The LORD is good to all o're all, &c.

¶ The annotators ended their sundry interpretations of their revision of the English Psalms with this return to the 1640 version, except for the punctuation. They then looked at the latitude of the signification of the Hebrew text of three more passages from the Spiritual Songs:

Isai. 25. 2.

For thou a City mad'st an heap.
a City fenc'd to fall:
The strangers palace, City none,
be built it never shall.

Hab. 3. 9.

His chariots of salvation were;
Streams by thy bow their channels leave:
Th'oath words to th'tribes that thou didst swear
Thou didst the earth with rivers cleave.

Verse 13.

Didst wound, thou the foundation
Hast to the neck discovered.

APPENDIX C

SPIRITUAL SONGS ADDED
TO THE NEW ENGLAND PSALMS IN 1648

The Song of Moses. Exod. 15.

21 verses

Sing to the LORD, for he excels
in glorious renown:
He hath the horse and cavaleer
into the sea cast down:

- 2 Jah is my strength, an song, and he
is my salvation:
My God he is, I'll him prepare
an habitation.
My fathers God he is also,
I'll him exalt, the same.

The Prophetical Song of Moses. Deut. 32.

43 verses

Oh heav'ns give ye attentive ear
to what I shall declare:
And also thou O earth shalt hear
what my mouths sayings are,

- 2 My doctrine like the rain shall drop,
my speech distill shall as
The dew, as rein on tender heros,
and like the show'rs on grass.

The Song of Deborah and Barak. Judges 5.

31 verses

The Song of Hannah. 1 Sam. 2.

10 verses

My heart doth in Jehovah joy,
My horn in Jah is lift on heigh:
My mouth enlarg'd is o're my foe.
For in my health rejoyce do I.

David's Elegie. 2 Sam. i. 17.

27 verses.

☞ The text of the Psalms begins above the middle of page 12, and ends with six lines on page 90. The Song of Songs follows without a break, its eight chapters ending in the first column on page 94.

The Song of Songs

Let him with kisses of his mouth
be pleased me to kiss:
Because much better than the wine
thy loving kindness is.

2 Thy name as pour'd forth ointment is,
because of that sweet smell
Of thy good ointments, therefore do
the Virgins love thee well.

3 O draw thou me, and readily
we will run after thee:
Into his secret chambers hath
the King conducted me

The Songs in the Prophet Isaiah. Chap. v.	7 verses
Chap. xii.	6 "
Another Meeter.	6 "
Chap. xxv.	21 "
Chap. xxvi.	21 "
Chap. xxxiii.	
The Song of Hezekiah, after his recovery in Sickness	20 "
The Lamentations of Jeremiah: Chap. iii.	66 "
Chap. v.	22 "
The Prayer of Jonah to the Lord his God out of the Fishes belly.	9 "
A Prayer of Habbakkuk the Prophet upon Sigionoth, Chap. iii.	18 "
The Song of the Blessed Virgin MARY, Luke i. 46.	79 "
The Song of Simeon, Chap. 2. 29.	8 "

Rev. Chap. 4, Verse 8. The Song of the four Animals.

4 lines.

The Song of the twenty four Elders, vers 11.

4 lines.

To the Lord Jesus the Lamb of God, The Song of the Church, Chap. 5, verse 9.

8 lines.

The Song of the Angels and of the Church, Verse 12.

4 lines.

The Song of all the Creatures, Verse 17.

4 lines.

The Song of the innumerable multitude of the Saints, Chap. 7.10.

4 lines.

The Song of all the Angels, Verse 12.

8 lines.

Another Meeter

11 lines.

The Song of Moses and of the Lamb, Chap. 15, verse 3.

8 lines.

O Hallelujah, Or, saving health, Chap. 19, Verse 1.

12 lines.

Of them also that served him
the blood aveng'd hath he.
Out of her hand, for she it shed,
Amen, the Lord praise ye.

¶ The volume ends with a "Table of the Whole Book of Psalms," alphabetized, occupying five pages.

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